THE HISTORY OF His Sacred Majesty CHARLES the II. Third MONARCH of GREAT BRITAIN.

Crowned KING of SCOTLAND, At SCOONE the first of *January* 1650.

Begun from the Death of his Royall Father of Happy Memory, and continued to the present year 1660.

By a Person of Quality.

Bona agere & mala pati Regium est.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iames Davies*, and are to be sold at the *Greyhound* in Saint *Paul's* Church-yard, 1660.

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To the Right Honourable

HENRY

Lord Marqueſs of

DORCHESTER,

Earl of *Kingſton*, Viſcount *Newark*, Lord *Pierrepoint* and *Manvers*, &c.

Right Honourable,

IT was not upon long Conſiderations, but eaſie reſolutions, that I pitched upon your Lordſhip, and determined to preſume upon your pa-

tronage of this small review of the actions of his SACRED MAJESTY,) whose hard fortunes may now demand a Subjects protection) since I could no where else find a person who bears so great a name of true honour & Generosity, nor one whose assured loyalty will make him lesse ashamed or afraid to own his Prince.

And indeed (my Lord)

Lord) when I looked upon these Nations, once I may say almost peopled with Nobles, and now in a great measure deprived both of her nobility and gentry, 'twas easie for me to find out the Prime of those remaining, which a small search told me was your Lordship; who, though you have been no whit behind the foremost in Loyalty, yet God hath been

pleased to make others drink deeper in the Cup of affliction then your self.

But all those miseries which either your Lordship or other loyal persons have suffered, cannot come in competition with those undergone by his SACRED MAJESTY, who hath drunk up the very dregs of the Cup, and suffered more then can be well spoken; yet all with so incom-

incomparable a patience as worthily deserves our wonder.

My Lord you are amongst the Prime of the Nobility, which God hath yet been pleased to spare this miserable Nation; and as you are so, I could not think any person fitter for the patronage of this small piece; since both your loyalty may make you willing, and your power able to protect it.

If I have ſoar'd too high either in the ſubject or dedication, I ſhall humbly crave your Lordſhips pardon, and anſwer to the firſt; That I was willing to vindicate my Sovereign (as far as in me lay) from thoſe many reproaches and calumnies caſt upon him by his back-biting enemies; by giving the beſt account (that either my own knowledge or the ſureſt intelligence

ligence I could get might enable me to) of all his actions, that he might appear the contrary of what he is represented, and dirt be cast in the faces of his accusers. To the second, I wholly cast my self on your Lordship, either to pardon or condemn.

But if my love to his Majesty may in the judgements of some have strained my pen too much in his favour,

I deſire it may be imputed not to my intent, but paſſion; for the unworthy ſufferings of ſo worthy a Prince would irritate any loyal Subject.

My Lord whilſt your Lordſhip ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to Patronize this ſmall work, that GOD would be pleaſed to reſtore his Majeſty to be Patron of his Kingdomes & people, & bleſſe your Lordſhip

ſhip with all imaginary bleſſings ſhall be the daily prayer of

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant,

I. D.

To

To the Right Honourable,

Major General *Richard Brown*, Colonel of the Regiment of horſe of the City of *London*: Alderman *Iohn Robinſon*, Colonel of the *Green* Regiment of the Cities Trained Bands: Ald. *Anthony Bateman* Col. of the *Red*: Ald. *William Wale* Col. of the *White*: Mr. *William Vincent* Col. of the *Blew*: Mr. *Thomas Bludworth* of the *Orange*, and Mr. *Lawrence Bromfield* of the *Yellow*.

Right Honourable,

MAlice and error are the Fpidemical diſeaſes of our time and land: ſo that whoever as a friend to his Countrey, ſhall preſume to diſcover any thing of a

ſpirit

ſpirit of Love or Truth, is likely to exaſperate not a few. That, I truſt, both the Author and my ſelf the Stationer, have endeavoured to do, and therefore muſt expect to meet with the hard cenſures and Calumnies of many; yea even of ſuch, of whom we have no worſe thoughts, then that they ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed with popular miſtakes, and unneceſſary jealouſies concerning that moſt Chriſtian and Illuſtrious (though now clouded) Prince, the ſubject of the following Book. Whoſe eares (according to the *Epheſians* Hieroglyphick

of

of Calumny) have been ope-
ned too wide to the malevo-
lent aſperſions of ignorant &
ill-intereſted perſons, and are
therefore prejudiced againſt
every relation that may re-
preſent him to the World as
lovely and deſirable. We
know *Themiſtocles* had the un-
happy fate to be rendred o-
dious to the people by *Ariſti-
des*, gallant perſons both, but
the latter under a miſtake.
Theſe we pity rather then be
angry at them; and deſire to
cure them of their beloved
diſtemper by preſenting them
with this ſuccinct and faith-
full Hiſtory. But yet that I
may not be altogether unpro-

vided of a shelter, if the storm of their zealous frenzy should chance to fall upon me (besides a recourse to my own integrity, which *Janus*-like will make me *Tanto frontosior, quanto innocentior*) I humbly crave a room under the shadow of your wings, where I question not but to lye safe. Your honours have taken a charge upon you, which obliges you to maintain the publick and common good interest of this Land and City, where

——*Res est publica Cæsar,*

Et de communi pars quoque nostra bono est.

Therefore to patronize the recom-

recommendation of his virtues for imitation, and of his sufferings for commiseration, cannot be unworthy your honours, which is the humble desire of

Your Humble and
Obedient Servant,

JAMES DAVIES.

To

To all loyal *Englishmen.*

Gentlemen and fellow-Subjects.

THere preſent you an Hiſtory which though now you may, confident I am you very lately could not in reaſon expect; ſuch was the perverſneſſe and crookedneſs of theſe times, that no loyal ſubject might without danger attempt to write, nay hardly to ſpeak the truth of his Soveraign: for a ſort of men there were, who having by violence uſurped his Dominions, thought that they had no ſurer ground to maintain their unjuſt poſſeſſion, then by ſcandalizing his moſt SACRED MAIESTY and deceiving of his Subjects, many o^f whom had not but by ſuch deceits converted their loyalty into Treaſon.

Yet God I hope will now be pleaſed to return them to their Allegiance, and give encouragement to thoſe who have conſtantly continued loyal, that they may at length once more enjoy happineſſe, and every man ſit under his own Vine and under his own fig-tree; which, the GOD of HEAVEN be praiſed, we have now greater hopes of then ever.

If

If I have in this Hiſtory offended any loyal perſon, I am heartily grieved, I have impartially endeavoured the truth, and if I be found in the contrary, reaſon will eaſily convince me; and I ſhall be ſorry that neither my knowledge or intelligence extended to a more narrow ſearch.

I think I have repreſented his Majeſty no otherwiſe then any loyal perſon (for this age requires that diſtinction) that hath either heard of or known him will confeſſe him to be; but if they will not, let them be convinced by that ſaying of a worthy Gentleman long time an attendant upon his Majeſty, who having given me a large account of his virtues, at length concluded, That *Tully* himſelf (if now alive) could not ſufficiently expreſſe his praiſe.

Gentlemen, it is to you in General that I preſent this Hiſtory, that you may ſee, and be ſenſible, to whom you have been loyal, and then I believe that you will judge that your loyalty hath found it's juſt reward in being loyal to ſo juſt a Prince: and if any of you have ſuffered for him, read but his ſufferings, & you cannot value your own. Yet I intend not this at all to his pretended

Tavern

Tavern friends; which I believe (whilst they are so) are so onely there, and indeed I cannot look upon these as faithfull Subjects; for how can that man be loyal to his Prince, who hath not the power to be true unto himself. Drunken Subjects, though never so loyal, will prove the ruine both of themselves and their Soveraign.

Gentlemen, let those that are truly loyal, joyn their prayers with mine for the happinesse of his most SACRED MAIESTY *since in his we must necessarily include our own, and more then ours, our* COVNTRIES.

To

To the Readers in general.

Courteous Readers.

IF in this History I have displeased any person, they cannot be so much displeased as I am sorry; I have endeavoured to please all, nor have I more then Iustice enforced me to, favoured any; I have laboured (as I professed) to write impartially, where I have not done so, I am confident there will not want Carpers.

If in some particulars affection hath swayed me, (though I confesse it a fault) yet it brings it's excuse. What loyal Subject can relate his Soveraigns sufferings without a passion? what Free born English man's heart begins not to rise within him, when he does but think of those Tyrannies and Oppressions his Native Countrey hath of late groaned under? where I have been bitter, it has been with reason; where sweet, with a great deal of Iustice.

Yet one thing I shall desire the Reader to take notice of, that when I speak of the Presbyterians, I mean not those moderate people, who are as truly loyal as they are godly;

but

but ſome amongſt them like wolves in ſheeps clothing (ſuch as Straughan *and* Kerry *in* Scotland*) who only pretend themſelves to be* Presbyterians*, but are in their proof found Sectaries, theſe are the Flea-bitten Clergy, the Sowers of ſtrife and ſeditions and a ſcandal to thoſe to whom they pretend to be Brethren.*

To conclude, that all the Subjects of this Land may with one heart and voice agree together for the Reſtauration of our afflicted Sovereign, but of our more afflicted ſelves to juſt Rights and Priviledges, is the earneſt prayer of

A Hearty well-wisher
to his Countrey.

THE

THE HISTORY OF CHARLES the II, Third MONARCH of Great Britain, &c.

THE Histories of *Englands* late oppreſſours have already cloy'd and overladed the exuberant Preſſe, whole Volumes daily coming forth, either of the Actions of the late long Parliament, or the Life of their aſpiring

Generall *Cromwell*, which though adorn'd with all those flatteries, that could possibly proceed from the most beneficed pens, yet cannot in the least justifie their actions to the more sober sort of people; for though their memories may here smell sweet to some, who have rather tasted of their favour, then suffered under their oppression, yet do they but render them to the sufferers more infamous, and to the Neuter ridiculous, like *the extolling of Don Quixot's Chivalry.*

And though there have been some who have adventured to set them out to the life, and paint them in their own colours; yet have many of these as far exceeded the bounds of Truth, as the others came short of it, rather exasperated by their own, or to please their fellow-sufferers, into so great extremes have either side been lead, out of fear

fear or flattery, anger or passion.

Moderation and Impartiality are the chiefest virtues of an Historian, and therefore he who writes an History, should chuse such a subject to write on, where neither fear nor gain can induce him to flatter, anger or passion, to too much bitternesse.

Most of our modern Historians have proposed to themselves either profit, advantage or employment by their Works, which hath made them run into their so many grosse errours and flatteries; whilst had they only endeavoured to represent things, persons and actions impartially, they had gained to themselves farre greater honour of true Writing.

I have chosen a subject to write of, which I conceive may lead me to a mediocrity, the Persons afflictions may induce me to pity him, but they will in most mens judgements re-

ſtrain me from flattery. Nor need I out of fear, I being now (though unwillingly) out of his reach, mince the truth of his (if any) bad actions.

I confeſſe the Task I undertake is highly adventurous, my pen may ſlip, times may change, however my heart ſhall guide me to an impartiality.

Charles the II. Heir apparent to the Crown of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and crowned King of *Scots*, whoſe Hiſtory I intend to treat of, was born on the 29. of *May* 1630. to the great joy of the King, Queen, and indeed the whole Nation; for never yet had *England* a Prince born of ſo noble an extract and grand Alliance, his father by lineal right and deſcent King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, his mother daughter to that thrice Illuſtrious Prince *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, and worthily

thily firnamed the Great, and *Maria de Medicis*. By his Grandmothers side was he near allied to the Kings of *Denmark*, by the marriage of his Aunt, the noble Princesse *Elizabeth* to the Elector Palatine of *Rhene*, and King of *Bohemia*; and afterwards by the marriage of his Royall Sister the Princesse *Mary*, to the Prince of *Orange*. Thus was he allied to most, of the most Potent Princes in Christendome. And happy might this Nation have been under his Government, if we may believe the vogue of that wisest of men *Solomon*, who pronounces that Kingdome blessed *whose Prince is the son of Nobles*.

He was some years after his birth (according to the ancient Customes of *England* for the Kings Eldest son) invested Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, and was in his minority brought up un-

der the care of the Earle of *Newcastle*, till in the year 1646. the Lord *Hopton's* Army, in which he was, being near inclosed by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Generall of all the Parliaments Forces in the *Devizes* of *Cornwall*, and the King his Fathers affairs being in a desperate condition all over *England*, he was by the serious advice of his best friends, perswaded to take shipping, and depart for the *Scillies*, from whence he was by the Parliament invited to return to *London*, but he thought it safer for his Person to depart from thence to his Sister at the *Hague*, till the Royall affairs in *England* might gain a better posture, which he did, and there found a reception answerable to his birth.

Not long after the King his Royall Father, being in danger to be inclosed in *Oxford* by Generall *Fairfax*, who returning out of the *West*, had de-

deſigned to block it up, took care for his ſafety, and attended only by Mr. *Aſhburnham* (or as ſome ſay, attending on him) went privily out thence, and threw himſelf upon the *Scotch* Army then at *Newark*, who ſhortly after notwithſtanding his confidence of them, for a ſumme of money delivered him up moſt perfidiouſly and traiterouſly to his implacable Enemies, the *Engliſh* Army. Theſe after many pretences of Treaties, and ſeeming willingneſſe to come to an accord with him, on that black day the 30. of *January* 1648. moſt villanouſly and trayterouſly beyond the imagination of the World, murder'd him.

Thus far is a ſhort view of thoſe hardſhips and afflictions undergone by this noble Prince, during his fathers life and raign, we will now proceed to thoſe he hath ſince ran

through, which we may more properly particularly call his Own.

Among which the Chief and greatest, and from whence all his other miseries flowed as from their spring head, was the deprivation of his Kingdome and Royalties; For that part of the Parliament of *England* which had usurped the whole power or more, were not onely content to take away his Fathers life, but by their Proclamation, deprive him of all right in the Government of those three Kingdomes, which they take upon themselves, contrary both to the Word of God, the Fundamental Lawes of the Nation, and his own undoubted right by birth, he being lineally descended from that Family which had successively governed *England* for above three hundred yeares.

He was at the time of his Fathers death, at the Court of his Sister the Royal

Royall Princeſſe of *Orange* in the *Hague*, in expectation to hear rather of the Concluſion of a Treaty then of his Murder, to which effect he writ by the Lord *Seymour* the following Letter to him ſome ſhort time before his Death.

For the King.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majeſties preſent Condition, but ſuch as I receive from the prints, or (which is as uncertain) reports. I have ſent this bearer Seymour *to wait upon your Majeſty, and to bring me an account of it, that I may withall aſſure your Majeſty I doe not onely pray for your Majeſty according to my duty, but ſhall alwaies be ready to do all which ſhall be in my power to deſerve that bleſſing*

which I now humbly beg of your Majesty upon Sir,

Your Majesties
Most humble and most obedient
Son and Servant,

CHARLES——

Hague, Jan. 23.
1648.

And here he staid till he heard the heart-breaking newes of his Fathers Murther, when shortly after he took his Iourney to the Queen his mother in *France*; hoping there to get aid, but found none which might render him in a Capacitie to revenge his Father's Death, or demand his own Right by force: and in vain it was to think of any fair means to attain it. Yet there wanted not some friends of his in *England*, who willing to demonstrate how ready they were to adventure themselves for him and his right, as far as their weak abilities would

would ſtretch, cauſed under hand a Proclamation to be printed, proclaiming him King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, and adviſing all his good Subjects to give all due Allegiance to him; but the low condition of the Royalliſts then in *England*, and the great ſtrength, and potency of the Parliaments Army, made this Proclamation unvalid, and thoſe who at a fit opportunity would willingly have complied with it, were forced to direct their Obedience to the contrary Goal.

But though *England* prov'd thus defective to his Intereſt, not ſo much I dare ſay in Allegiance as power. Yet *Ireland* is at his Devotion for the Marqueſs of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchequin*, having made a peace with the *Quondam* Rebels, he is by joynt conſent both of Papiſts and Proteſtants proclaimed King in moſt towns of that Nation, *Dublin*, and

London

London Derry only excepted, which were kept from their Allegiance, the one by the Lieu. General *Iones*, the other by Sir *Charles Coot*, who jointly ſtrove to juſtifie the Parliament of *England*'s late Actions.

He being thus proclaimed there, is ſolemnly invited to come over to them, to which invitation, his Mother earneſtly adds her deſires, but the beſt of his friends and Counſellours, as earneſtly diſſwaded him, upon reaſons drawn both from prudence and Policy, ſince in probability the deſign not ſucceeding, it would utterly ruine his hopes with all the Proteſtant party then ſtedfaſt to him both in *Scotland* & *England:* or that if he would needs venture himſelf with this party, they deſired him at leaſt to attend, whether by any good event of theirs, there might be any probability of ſucceſſe.

'Tis ſuppoſed that this Council ſwai-

ed

ed with him more out of his real affection to the Proteſtant Religion, then any other Politick reaſon. Yet he immediately after took a journey to the Iſle of *Ierſey*, which ſtartled ſome as though he had intended to have proceeded thence for *Ireland*, but that ſuſpition proved unneceſſary: he was accompanied hither by his Brother the Duke of *York*, (who was lately come to him out of *Holland*) and many other Nobles and Gentlemen; the Iſlanders immediately upon his arrival moſt joyfully proclaimed him King; and the Lord *Iermyn* Earl of *Yarmouth* was made Governour of that Iſland, who conſtituted Sir *George Carteret* his Deputy Governour.

The King ſends from hence his Royal Command to the Governour of *Gernſey* Iſland, which was then wholly ſubjected (*Cornet* Caſtle only excepted) to the Parliaments force; requi-

requiring him to surrender the said Island to him, and that his good Subjects there might have liberty to return to their due obedience: but his Command proved ineffectual.

Many affirm, but how true I know not, that the Reason of the Kings removal to this Island was out of design to surprize *Dartmouth* and some other places in the West, by the Levellers help, who having then made a defection from the Parliaments Army in *England*, were (say they) to have joyned with the Royallists for the intents and purposes aforesaid, but whether so or no I cannot affirm; though I can certainly tell this, that were it so, it proved uneffectual, for the Levellers were soon overpowered and quell'd.

Whilest King *Charles* was here expecting a Messenger from the States of *Scotland*, came news of the unfortunate overthrow of the Marquess

queſs of *Ormond* his Army, by Lieu. General *Jones* before *Dublin*, which cauſed a general ſorrow among all his followers, for there had been great hopes and expectations of that Army, it amounting to no leſſe then twenty two thouſand men, and was eſteemed able not onely to have taken *Dublin*, but likewiſe to have reſiſted *Cromwell's* then new comming Army in the field: yet whether by the careleſſneſs of the Commanders or ſecurity of the Souldiers, I am loath to judge: this mighty Army then beleaguring *Dublin*, was beat from before it by the beſieged, and utterly routed by the third part of it's Number.

This overthrow, the repulſe of Sir *Robert Stuart* and Col. *Mervin* from *London-Derry* by Sir *Charles Coot*, and *Cromwell's* ſuddain landing in *Ireland*, whoſe motion now there was no field Army either to attend

or

or oppoſe, made his Majeſties affairs grow almoſt as deſperate in *Ireland* as they were before in *England*.

But the *Scots Kirk* who had ſold their King into the hands of the *Independent Engliſh* Army, after they heard that they had condemned him to death, repent them of their Wickedneſſe, waſh their hands from any guilt in his bloud; Expoſtulate with the *Engliſh* ſitting in Parliament, about their ſo ſevere proceedings, and proteſt againſt having any hand in his Murder; and to make the world believe they had yet ſome touch of loyalty within them, They had juſt after his death proclaimed *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, eldeſt Son to the late murthered King *Charles* the firſt, and his lawfull and undoubted Heir, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*; and had immediately reſolved in the Committee of Eſtates then ſitting to

ſend

ſend ſome fitting perſons to treat with his Majeſtie about ſundry Articles; before his reception to the Crown: but long Debates and demurrs there were in the buſineſſe before they could reſolve what and whom to ſend.

For ſome there were in this *Grand Committee of Eſtates*, who fee'd or ſeduced by the Sectaries in *England*, impeaded to the utmoſt of their power and endeavours all proceedings in the buſineſſe, ſo that once inſtead of debating what or whom they ſhould ſend to his Majeſtie, it came to be a debate whether they ſhould ſend or no, but at length a letter and propoſitions was by the prevailing part concluded on, and Mr. *Windram* Laird of *Libberton*, appointed to be the Meſſenger, who on the 25. of *September* 1649. received his diſpatches, and ſome time after arrived before his Majeſtie

at

Iersey. The chief of their desires was to this effect.

1. *That his Majesty would graciously be pleased himself to sign the solemn League and Covenant, and that he would passe an Act in Parliament that every person in that Kingdome might take it.*

2. *That he would passe divers Acts of the Parliament of* Scotland, *which was concluded on the two last Sessions.* 1. *For approving of their disclaiming Duke* Hamilton's *last return.* 2. *For receiving severall Acts made by* English *for the Militia.* 3. *That the Kings of* Scotland *may have no negative voice.*

3. *That his Majestie would recall the late Commissions given to* Montrosse.

4. *That he would put away all Papists from about him.*

5. *That he would appoint some place about* Holland *to treat with their Com-*

Commissioners. An honourable Company of the most noble Lords in Scotland, *being to be appointed to attend his Majesty, to whom likewise they would send a sufficient provision to maintain him, a train suitable to his birth and deserved Greatnesse.*

6. *That he would be graciously pleased to give a speedy answer to their desires.*

These Propositions were very stifly debated *Pro* and *Con*, some were so fierce that they would have his Majesty utterly reject the *Scots* Propositions as dishonourable and disadvantageous to his affairs. Others were of opinion, that it would more conduce to the Kings Interest to accept of such Conditions as he could agree with the *Scotch* Commissioners, which would be a readier way to attain the Crown then by *Montrosses* his designs (who had lately received Commissions from the

the King to aſſault the *North* of *Scotland* with what force he could raiſe) however the buſineſſe was ſtill demurred and delayed, and no anſwer for a good while given to the Lord *Libberton*, who earneſtly preſt it, till ſuch time as anſwer could come from *Montroſſe*, then in *Holland*: and out of *France*, touching their opinions concerning theſe Propoſitions, concerning which *Montroſſe* returned anſwer to his Majeſty, deſiring him *to hearken to the* Scots *Commiſſioners, whilſt they would propoſe and agree to any thing which might ſtand with his Majeſties honour for the reſtoring him to his Rights and Dignities. That for himſelf he ſhould rather be content to endure baniſhment from his Highneſſe ſight and perſon, then in the leaſt prejudice his affairs.* Thus this faithfull and loyall ſervant courted Baniſhment, as the late famous Earle of *Strafford* had done death

death) for his Master's good and service, but too generous was he, and had too great a sense of goodness and gratitude to grant his request, but returned him this answer, *That he had so high a sense of his fidelity and loyalty all along, and that he had performed so many signall services both for his father and himself, that he could not in honour leave him, and therefore desired him to presse him no farther.*

The Queen Mother likewise earnestly presses her son to the acceptance of the *Scotch* Propositions for a Treaty, as the onely and readiest way for the establishing of him in his Kingdomes. These resolves of his Mother and the Marquess of *Montrosse*, wrought strongly with his Majesty; yet notwithstanding they are as stoutly opposed by the Lord *Cleveland*, *Byron*, *Gerard*, and others, whose chief opposition proceeded from

from the alledged Treachery of the *Scots* to his father, That they were *Scots* ſtill, and might practice the ſame upon him. But the majority of voices carrying it for a Treaty, it was reſolved on, yet in regard it would require ſome time to frame an anſwer, Sir *William Flemming* was ſent Agent to the Committee of Eſtates in *Scotland*, till ſuch time as the Laird *Libberton* could be diſpatch't.

Short time after Mr. *Windram* returned into *Scotland* with a Letter & inſtructions by word of mouth, whereby he gave the Committee of Eſtates (who having long expected were therefore more deſirous to hear what he now brought) an account how much he found his Majeſty compliant to their Propoſitions, *viz. That as to what acted in the two laſt Seſſions of Parliament, he was content a General Act of Oblivion ſhould*

should be passed, but could not approve it. That neither those of Montrosses, *nor Duke* Hamilton's *party in his last engagement should bear Office in State without consent of Parliament. That he had appointed* Breda *in* Holland *for the place of a solemn Treaty, for the making of a full accommodation, and agreement between him and his loving Subjects of* Scotland.

The Contents of his Letter were as followeth.

For the Committee of Estates of Scotland.

CHARLES *R.*

WE have received your Letters lately presented to us, by Mr. Windram *of* Libberton, *and we accept graciously all the expressions of affection and fidelity therein contained towards us, with your tender resent-*

ment

ment of our present Condition, and the just indignation which you professe to have against the execrable Murther of our Father: And we believe that your intentions are full of Candor towards us, as we are, and alwayes really have been desirous to settle a clear and right intelligence between us and our Subjects of our ancient Kingdome of Scotland, which may be an assured foundation of their happinesse and peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the seeds of animosity and divisions caused by these late troubles; and also to unite the hearts and affections of our Subjects one to another, and of them all to us their King and lawfull Soveraign; to the end that by their Obedience to our Royal and just Authority, we may be put in a Condition to maintain them in peace and prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty, as it appertains to us according

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to our charge and office of a King. And as we have alwayes resolved to contribute whatever is to be done by us to obtain these good effects, and for the just satisfaction of all our Subjects in this Kingdome.

We have now thought fit upon the Return of Mr. Windram *to command and desire you to send unto us Commissioners sufficiently authorized to treat and agree with us, both in Relation to the Interest and just satisfaction of our Subjects there, as also concerning the aid and assistance, which in all reason we may expect from them to bring and reduce the murtherers of our late most dear father of happy memory to condigne punishment, and to recover our just rights in all our Kingdomes. And we will that they attend us on the fifteenth of* March *at the Town of* Breda, *where we intend to be in Order thereunto. And in confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you,*

and all the World, that we sincerely desire to be agreed, We have resolved to addresse these unto you under the Name and Title of a Committee of Estates of our Kingdome of Scotland, and will and expect that you use this grace no other wayes for any advantage to the prejudice of us, or our affairs, beyond what we have given this Qualification and Title for, namely, for the Treaty and in order to it. Although we have considerations sufficient, and very important to dissuade and oblige us to do nothing in this kind antecedently at this time. Also we hope the confidence which we declare to have in your clear and candid intentions towards us, will furnish you with strong Arguments to form in your selves a mutual confidence in us, which by the blessing of God Almighty by your just and prudent moderation, and by that great desire we have to oblige all our Subjects of that Kingdome, and by

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the means of the Treaty which we attend and hope for may be a good foundation of a full and happy peace, and an assured security to this Nation for the time to come, which we assure you is wished of us with passion, and which we shall endeavour by all means in our power to effect.

This is the full of his Majesties Letter to the Committee of Estates in *Scotland*, and much to this effect was there another writ by him to the *Committee of the Kirk*. But this I the rather fully insert in regard of the many Calumnies cast upon it, and by it upon his Majesty. His enemies hereby taking occasion to carp upon him, by pretending his inveterate desire of revenge, which was so contrary to the last precepts given him by his dying father. I think, I need not answer his enemies objection, they by those carps, only condemning themselves of a self-guiltinesse, but

to the more ſober ſort of people I ſhall referre it, and let them ſeriouſly conſider whether the beginning, progreſſe and end of the Letter, demonſtrate him not a man more addicted to peace and quietneſſe, then to revenge and deſtruction.

The principal Objection which his enemies have againſt him, is, that he deſires the aid of his *Scotch* Subjects, to bring the murderers of his Father to condigne punishment; does this ſhew him a lover of Revenge or of Juſtice? I would fain know which of his enemies or of his Fathers Murderers, would not, ſhould I have done the ſame to any of their ſo near Relations, have endeavoured to have brought me under the utmoſt cenſure of the Law.

But to proceed, theſe letters are ſeriouſly debated both in the Committee of Eſtates and *Kirk*, the firſt

or

order its consideration to a select sub-Committee of their own, consisting of nine, Lords and others, who present their opinions upon it to the grand Committee, and these provide ready a state of the Case to be presented to the Parliament of *Scotland*, which was shortly after to assemble. But mean while a select number of the *Kirk* and State make up a Committee, who by common consent were to consider what was to be done about sending Commissioners and Propositions to his Majesty; these had strong and serious debates; for the arrogant *Kirkmen* would not have his Majesty admitted into *Scotland*, but upon Conditions which should make him wholly subservient to their commands: but the State would have such tart conditions wholly waved; and (though their own were rough enough, yet) at length a mediation is concluded on

between theirs and the *Kirks*. And the Earle of *Castles*, the Lord *Lothian*, *Burley* and *Libberton*, Sir *John Smith* and Mr. *Ieoffreys* for the *Estates*. Mr. *Broady*, *Lawson* and *Wood* are appointed Commissioners for the *Kirk*.

These having received their Commissions and Instructions, took their journey for *Holland*, & arrived at *Breda*, some few daies before his Majesty, got thither. On the 16. *March* 1649. he also arrived there, and on the 19. the Lord *Wentworth* Master of the Ceremonies conducted them to Audience, being come before his Majesty, who in a large Chamber purpose provided, expected them, The Lord *Castles* in behalf of the *Estates*, and Mr. *Lawson* in behalf of the *Kirk*, having made their Speeches, declared the occasion of their coming, and shewing their Commissions, they delivered the ensuing

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Propoſitions in the behalf both of the *Kirk* and States of *Scotland*.

1. "That all thoſe who had been "excommunicated by the Church, "& ſtill continued ſo, ſhould be for- "bid acceſſe to Court.

2. "That all Acts of the Parlia- "ment of *Scotland* ſhould be by him "ratified and approved of. That the "ſolemn League and Covenant, the "Presbyterian Church-government. "The Directory, Confeſſion and "Catechiſme ſhould be enjoyned in "*Scotland*; and the ſame uſed and "practiſed in his family, and an Oath "to be taken by him, that He would "never oppoſe it, or endeavour to "alter it.

3. "That he would by ſolemn "Oath, and under his hand and ſeal "declare and acknowledge his al- "lowance of the ſolemn League & "Covenant, and the National Co- "venant of *Scotland*.

4. "That he would consent and "agree that all civil matters might be "determined by subsequent Parliaments in *Scotland*, and all Ecclesiastical matters by the General "Kirk assembly, as was formerly "granted by his Royal father.

To these Propositions his Majesty demanded,

"Whether this were fully and "wholly all that the Committee of "Estates and Kirk in *Scotland* had to "desire or propound? and whether "these Commissioners had power "to remit or recede from any of "these particulars; and further, what "they had to propound concerning "his affairs in *England*.

To which the Commissioners replied,

"That they had acquainted him "with

with their full power, according to the instructions they had received from the Committees of Estates and Kirk in *Scotland*.

Upon which his Majesty made Answer; That he would consider of their Propositions, and doubted not but to return them such an Answer as might give his Kingdome of *Scotland* satisfaction: and so dismissed them for the present.

But let us thus leave his Majesty and Council debating about the *Scotch* Commissioners propositions, and discourse a little about his affairs under the conduct of the thrice noble and Illustrious Marquesse of *Montrose*, who having (notwithstanding the opposition which *Hamilton* gave to the design) obtained Commissioners from his Majesty to levy what force he could on that side the sea, endeavoured to the ut-

moſt of his power to effect it, but chiefly among the Princes of the *German* Empire, where he found large and fair promiſes, but very little real aſſiſtance, onely the Duke of *Holſtein* ſupplied him with four ſhips well arm'd and mann'd, though theſe were likewiſe by ſome ſtrange neglect delayed a long time at *Amſterdam*, which much retarded the ſervice. Colonel *Cochran* likewiſe, who had been ſent Agent into *Poland* to the *Scottiſh* Merchants there for aſſiſtance of men and money; having received a conſiderable quantity of money, and good ſupply of corn, diſpoſed of the firſt to his own uſe, ſold the other, and himſelf revolted from the ſervice. General *King*, who was expected out of *Sweden* with a party of Horſe, came not all; ſo many croſſes there were in the beginning of the buſineſſe as bad Omens to it's future ill ſucceſſe.

But

But at length the Marqueſſe fearing leaſt if the King ſhould conclude with the *Scots* before he had attempted any thing, his Commiſſions would be recalled, fatally reſolved to depart *Scotland* as he was: ſo with four ſhips indifferently well armed, (but with not above ſix or ſeven hundred men, and thoſe moſt ſtrangers) beſides a ſmall Frigat of ſixteen Guns, and one thouſand five hundred good Armes given him by the Queen of *Sweden*; he ſet ſail, and this was all the ſtrength he carried with him from *Hamburgh* to aſſault that potent Kingdome. Two of theſe ſhips, and thoſe the biggeſt, were ſent before, and directed to ſteer their courſe for the *Orcades*, but theſe unfortunately met with a ſtorm, and were amongſt thoſe rocky Iſlands, their men, armes and ammunition caſt away, ſo that a third part of the force raiſed for this expedition was loſt.

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But notwithstanding these fatal disasters, the sad presages of his ruine, the noble Marquess proceeds, and with the small number that was left him, lands amongst the Islands, where he gets together a pretty considerable number which had almost the face of an Army, but was for the most part composed of raw and unskilfull fellows, a party of these he sends out, who without resistance enter the Isle of *Orkney*, there being no Garrison there; from thence he dispatches Commissions to *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent, for the levying of Horse and Foot, which because the inhabitants of those places to which they were sent, could not resist, obeyed; and not long after the sending of those Commissions, *Montrosse* himself, with those forces he had, and those Gentlemen, resolved to engage in partaking of his fortune, landed in *Scotland*, at the point of

of *Cathanes*, the very farthest land to the *North west* of that Kingdome.

The people here whom he expected to have joyned with him (were so sensible of the miseries of the former war, and now more terrified with the name of Foreigners,) deserted their dwellings, and fled away, some never stopping till they came to *Edenburgh*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* who were now assembled though they had former advice of the Marquesses designs, yet could not tell the place of his landing, but now alarm'd by the flying Countrey: *David Lesley* is commanded with the body of the Army to march directly towards them for fear *Montrosse* should grow too numerous: and Colonell *Straughan*, whose valour the States highly approved, is ordered with a party of select Horse to advance before to hinder the Marquesses

queſſes levyes, and if he ſaw opportunity to fight him.

Monroſſe in the mean time to ſatisfie the World, and becauſe the people ſhould not be ſtartled at his invaſion, whilſt the King was upon Treaty, publiſhes a very patheticall "Declaration, declaring the juſtneſſe "of his cauſe, and to clear himſelf "from the aſperſion of ſiniſter ends, "and that his intention was onely a- "gainſt ſome particular perſons, who "had againſt the Laws of the King- "dome, raiſed and maintained a "war againſt his Majeſties father, "and did now by their wiles and "ſubtile practices endeavour to de- "ſtroy the ſon alſo; and therefore "exhorting all Subjects of that Nati- "on to endeavour to free themſelves "from the tyranny of thoſe who "then by an uſurped power ruled o- "ver them. But notwithſtanding this Declaration the Countrey came very ſlowly in. *Strughan*

Straughan in the mean time advances with all possible speed towards the Royal party, whilest *Montrosse* had not for indeed he could not effect any thing Material besides the fortifying of *Dunbath* Castle: but the Marquess hearing of the Enemies approach, made his whole Forces march at a great rate to recover a passe; yet nevertheless before they could come at it, the front of the Army, discovered *Straughan*'s forlorn hope, who marching with hast upon the Marquesses Army, found them both almost tired, and out of breath and Order; however a forlorn hope of 100. Foot are drawn out to meet them, who giving them a resolute Charge, forced them to no Orderly Retreat, but being seconded by *Straughan*'s whole body of Horse, they again maintained their ground, resolutely Charging upon the Marquesses main Body: the Islanders

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immediately threw down their arms and cryed for quarter, but the *Holsteiners* and *Hamburgers* made an Orderly retreat for the present into some bushes, which having a short time defended, they were at last enforced to yield.

This was a sad blow to his Majesties affairs in *Scotland*, there being great hopes, that had *Montrosse* succeeded and kept them in play, both *Kirk* and *State* would have come to milder Conditions with him: Yet the Marquess himself escaped for the present out of this Battel, Though there were near two hundred slain, and twelve hundred taken in the field (for the Country coming in upon them, few Escaped) Amongst the Prisoners of Note there were taken Col. *Harry*, the Lord *Frenderick*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgetty*, Col. *Hay* of *Noughton*, Col. *Grey* and several other Officers; together with the

Kings

Kings standard, which contained this Emphatical Motto, *IVDGE AND REVENGE MY CAVSE O LORD*; and whereon was pourtrayed to the life the Effigies of his Majesties Father beheaded.

But long it was not ere this thrice Heroick Marquess fell into the hands of these his cruel, Obdurate, and inveterate enemies, for though when he saw the battel at a losse, he had saved himself by escaping out of the Field, and had afterwards to disguise himself changed his habit with a *Highlander*, yet all could not prevail to his Escape, for the whole Countrey was raised up in armes in search after him, and a price set upon his head by the States, but especially the *Presbyterian* Ministers exhorted the people to endeavour his attainment, as a thing necessary to their Salvation.

At length the whole Countrey being

being up in armes about him, and no way left for this distressed Marquess to escape, he thought it better to throw himself upon the Lord *Aston*, formerly a friend of his, and now out in the search with some of his Tenants, then fall into the hands of his more inveterate and implacable enemies. But this Lord, notwithstanding he had formerly been *Montrosse's* follower, either out of fear or covetousnes durst not conceal him; but sent him with a strong Guard to *David Lessey*; by whom he was directly sent to *Edenburgh*, and shortly after brought to his Tryal before the Parliament of *Scotland*: where all the while notwithstanding those many ignominious affronts and disgraces thrown upon him (as his being in triumphant manner brought through *Edenburgh* bound in a Cart) yet he carried himself with so much Magnanimity and Courage, That those

those of his Enemies, who did not pity him, yet were almost ashamed of their villanies towards him.

The Parliament of *Scotland* upon the first newes of this Noble Marquess being made a prisoner, met, and resolved to passe a sentence upon him before either he was come up, or had at all answered for himself, & though, when they allowed him to speak somewhat for himself, (which he pronounced with gravity void of Passion,) yet he had as good have held his peace; for the sentence being agreed upon, it was past to this effect.

"That he should be carried to the "place from whence he came, and "from thence to morrow being the "21. day of *May* 1650.) be carried "to the high Crosse in *Edenburgh*, "and be hanged upon a Gibbet "thirty foot high, and there hang "for the space of three hours in the

sight

"sight and view of all people, with
"his History and Declaration hang-
"ging about his Neck; after which
"he should be taken down, behead-
"ed and quartered; his head to be
"placed upon the *Tolbooth* or Pri-
"son house in *Edenburgh*, and his
"leggs and arms over the gates of the
"Cities of *Sterling*, *Glascow*, S. *Johns-*
"*town*, and *Aberdeen*. And in case
"he repented (by which means his
"sentence of Excommunication
"might be taken off by the *Kirk*) the
"bulk of his body might be buried
"in *Grayfriers*, if not, to be buried
"in the Common burying place for
"thieves and robbers. Thus far did
their unparallel'd hatred and malice
extend even to his dead Corps.

This Sentence being aggravated by the Chancellor in the utmost terms of horrour that his spleen could invent, was yet mildly and unpassionately received by this illustrious

trious Marquess, who answered nothing to it. But, "That he took it "for a greater honour to have his "head stand on the prison gate for "this quarrel, then to have his pi-"cture in the Kings Bed-chamber; "And least his loyalty should be for-"gotten, they had highly honoured "him, in designing lasting Monu-"ments to four of the chiefest Cities "to bear up his memorial to all po-"sterity; wishing he had flesh e-"nough to have sent a piece to eve-"ry city in Christendome, to witness "his loyalty to his King and Coun-"trey.

The next day being the day appointed for his Execution, richly habited, in a scarlet cloak laced with gold, but his Soul adorned with constant Loyalty the far richer Ornament of the two, he marched along the street with so composed a Courage and Gravity, that most of his Enemies

Enemies either pityed or admired him: being come to the place of Execution; he was some time detained with many frivolous questions of that flea-bitten Clergy, being ready to mount up the ladder, he said it was Iacob's *ladder by which he should mount to Heaven.*

His Speech to the people was short, and that much to this effect. "That he was sorry if his end should "be scandalous to any good Chri-"stian: but that it often hap-"pened to the righteous accor-"ding to the wayes of the wicked, "that they who knew him should "not disesteem him for this ignomi-"nious death. That he confessed "it was the judgement of God upon "him for his private sins; but as for "his condemners, they were but in-"struments. That they had perver-"ted judgement and justice, and op-"pressed the poor: yet he desired

God

"God to forgive them, for he hear-
"tily forgave them. That what he
"did in that Kingdome, he did it in
"obedience to the just commands
"of his Sovereign, to assist him a-
"gainst those which rose up against
"him. That it was not his fault that
"he lay under the censure of the
"Church, since 'twas only for doing
"his duty. That for what was said
"of him, that he should blame the
"King, he said, 'twas most false,
"for (saies he) the late King lived a
"Saint, and died a Martyr. That if
"ever he should wish his soul in any
"mans place, it should be in his.
"That for the King now living, he
"was a Prince under whom any
"people might live most happily,
"his commands were righteous, his
"promises faithfull, and his dealings
"just. Finally, that he commended
"his soul to God, his service to his
"Prince, his good will to his friends,

"and

"and his name and charity to all "good people.

This was the ſumme of his Speech on the ladder, which, and ſome private prayers being finiſhed, he mounted up to the top of that prodigious Gibbet, where his Hiſtory and Declaration being tied about his neck, and his hands bound by the Executioner, he turned about and gave him ſome gold, asking; *If they had any more diſhonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it,* and then with a great deal of magnanimity, bidding the Executioner turn him off when he ſhould hold up his hands, it was accordingly performed.

Thus nobly lived, and thus ignominiouſly and yet *nobly* died: the trueſt of friends, the loyalleſt of Subjects, the faithfulleſt of ſervants, the beſt of Maſters, and the valianteſt of Captains. *Iames Graham*, Marqueſſe

of

of *Montrosse* Earl of *Rincardin*, Lord of *Groam* and Baron of *Montdieu*, whose death was not only lamented as a private but rather as a publick loss: most of the Princes in *Europe* deploring the unfortunate fall of so Noble and Heroick a person; For he was endowed with such winning graces, that wherever he came he was both honoured and esteemed, and wherever he Commanded, both feared and loved.

His enemies Malice, though he was dead, kept still alive; for after they had beheaded him and cut off his quarters, they would not permit that Bulk of his body which remained to be buried in any other place then the *Borough Moor*.

But this noble Marques suffered not alone. for soon after Col. *Hurrie* (notwithstanding he pleaded the benefit of Quarter,) young *Spotswood* of *Daersie*, (a most compleat

Gentleman) Sir *Francis Hay*, & Col. *Sibbalds*, two moſt accompliſhed perſons, though they had all the favour to be beheaded.

There was likewiſe one Captain *Charters*, who being put in hopes of life by the perfidious *Kirk*, upon his recantation, made a long Speech upon the Scaffold, acknowledging his Apoſtacy from the Covenant, and deſiring to be reconciled to the *Kirk*, but had notwithſtanding his head ſtruck off.

This was the fatal and Tragical Event of his Majeſties affairs in *Scotland* under *Montroſſe*'s Conduct: let us now turn to ſee how the Treaty at *Breda* went on in the mean time.

But before I proceed any farther, give me leave to ſpeak a word or two, concerning the Magnanimous Col. *Wil. Sibbalds*, who (ſay ſome) confeſſed himſelf guilty of the Mur-

der

der of D. *Doriſlaus* the *Engliſh* Agent at the *Hague*, which I muſt ingeniouſly confeſſe I believe upon good grounds to be only a Calumnie and Scannal raiſed from the ſo far extended Malice of his Enemies, for I can find nothing either in his Speech at death, or in any Records of credit tending to ſuch a Confeſſion, though much againſt any likelyhood of it: nor can I imagine that any man could with ſo much reſolution as he dyed with, part from this World, and have ſo great a load and blot upon Conſcience. But to proceed,

Great debates there were in the mean time between his Majeſty and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners concerning the Treaty, and great demurres there were upon it, for beſides the ſtriving of ſome Lords who had a kind of a ſerious Antipathy to the *Scots* perfidiouſneſſe, and endeavoured to perſwade his Majeſty not to

truſt them who had betrayed his Father. The King himſelf ſtuck highly as he had reaſon, about the buſineſs of Taking the *Covenant*; For,

1. *There was no reaſon why he ſhould be enforced to relinquiſh the Religion of his Fathers, and whileſt he permitted to his Subjects Liberty of Conſcience, it would be very inconſiſtent with their ſo earneſtly pretended deſires of a peace and agreement, to deny him the ſame priviledge which he gave them.*

2. *That Covenant tendred, and ſo earneſtly preſt upon him by them, was an Obligatory Covenant to bind the Subjects to him, and not for him to ſwear to; and therefore he judged it ſufficiently ſatisfactory to paſſe an Act for the peoples taking it.*

Whileſt theſe demurres and delayes were in the Treaty, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners give a viſit to the Illuſtrious Prince of *Orange*, whom they

they intreat to be a Mediator between them and their King. His Majesty likewise withdraw's himself for some time from *Breda* to the *Hague*, there to advise with his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Prince of *Orange* and other friends, about what he were best to resolve on or determine.

But the Estates of *Scotland* though their proposed Conditions were already unreasonable, yet resolve to adde more weight to the Scale: the Earl of *Carnwarth* and Mr. *Murrey* are sent over to the Commissioners at *Breda* with new instructions and propositions; as,

1. *That his Majesty should confirm all Acts done in some late Sessions of Parliament, without any exception.*

2. *That neither* Montros *nor any of his Adherents be admitted to come into the Kingdome of* Scotland.

But notwithſtanding the harſhneſſe of the Conditions, the King is earneſtly preſſed to come to a full Concluſion with the *Scots*; Though many Lords of the contrary faction pleaded for an utter rejectment of their propoſitions, alledging to his Majeſty, *That the Covenanters horrid perfidiouſneſſe to his Father, might be a ſufficient motive and inducement for him not to truſt them; That the more willing he was to condeſcend to their propoſitions, the more impudent they were ſtill in propoſing things moſt unreaſonable; That ſhould he accept of their Conditions, they would ſo tye up his hands that he would be then but a King onely in Title, which he was without them.* On the other ſide, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Lords *Wilmot*, *Piercy*, and others of his Majeſties Council who ſtood for an accommodation with the *Scots*, urged, *That his Majeſties affairs, both in*

Ireland

Ireland, *under the Marqueſs of* Montroſs, *and in the Navy under Prince* Rupert, *were in ſo weak and tottering a Condition, that no help could be expected from them; That all the Princes in* Europe *were ſo imbroyled in warrs of their own, that it was in vain to crave any foreign aid; And that therefore there was no way left for his Majeſty to regain his loſt Rights and Kingdomes but by complying with his Subjects of* Scotland, *and though it were upon ſuch Conditions as would at firſt ſeem harſh, thoſe Curbs might in time (poſſeſſion once got) be thrown off by degrees:* theſe reaſons ſwayed with his Majeſty, and the Treaty went on with a clearer face then formerly.

But now there happens a ſtrong demurre, or as moſt ſuppoſed, a buſineſſe that would wholly break off the Treaty, for the newes of *Montroſſe's* ignominious death being

come to *Breda*, extremely incenſed the whole Court, and thoſe who were againſt the Treaty, beſtirred themſelves ſtrongly, ſtill endeavouring to avert the King wholly from it, by telling him, "That they had "by thus Murdering his Lieutenant, "Demonſtrated to the World what "they would do to him if they had "him in their power. That it was "an act of raſhneſſe and deſperation "to truſt them, or to have any more "to do with ſuch a perfidious gene-"ration. That they only cunningly "and ſubtilly endeavoured to entrap "him that they might deſtroy him. But notwithſtanding their heat, his Majeſty conceals his anger, (which doubtleſs could not but be great, for the death, and the ſo ignominious death of ſo good and loyal a Subject and Servant; and that too in his quarrel and for obeying his juſt commands (only he expreſſes his reſent-

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ment of their ſo ſtrange proceedings to the Committee of Eſtates by a Meſſage ſent by Mr. *Murrey* to this effect.

" That it could not but grieve " and perplex him, to hear, that " whilſt they pretended to conclude " a peace, they proceeded in the " way of War; and that whilſt they " treated of an Accord with him, they " ſhed the bloud of his beſt Subjects, " and that in ſuch a manner, that if " true as reported, they could not " imagine but it muſt extremely in- " cenſe him, he therefore deſired " them to give him an account of " their buſineſſe.

To this they return Anſwer;

" That their affections were ſtill " reall to him, and that it rejoyced " their very ſoules, to hear that he " would be willing to concurre with " them in a peace and agreement. " That as for the Death of *Montroſs*,

"They deſired it might be no obſta-
"cle in the way, for that they did no-
"thing in it but with a reall intention
"to promote his intereſt.

Thus they endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, but it was not their excuſe, nor their ſo many reiterated Proteſtations of fidelity, but the neceſſity of the Kings affaires, which drew him not long after to conclude the Treaty at *Breda* (notwithſtanding the violent oppoſers of it) by condeſcending to moſt of their deſires.

The concluſion of the Treaty was ſoon carried to *Edenburgh*, where the Parliament being met, it was yet by ſome of thoſe who favoured the Sectarian party in *England* made a debate, *whether they ſhould make anymore addreſſes to the King*. So impudent were they even after the Treaty was concluded with him, but there were found but thirty of theſe ma-

malevolent persons: so to the major part of the Votes carrying it in the affirmative, it was Resolved that another message should be sent unto him, to invite him to make all possible speed to his Kingdome of *Scotland*, protesting that they would venture lives and fortunes in assisting him to regain his Right and Kingdomes; but they not onely debarre him from having those whom he chiefly favoured to wait upon him, but likewise prohibit the Duke *Hamilton*, the Earles of *Lauderdale* and *Seaforth*, and many other persons of quality's return to *Scotland*, and they nominate such persons as they thought fit out of their own gang to be officers of his household there.

The *Iunctο* then sitting and governing in *England*, had certain intelligence all along of the proceeds of the Treaty between his Majestie and the *Scots*, together with their Pro-

Proteſtations to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his Rights in *England* by ſome who ſat in the Parliament of *Scotland*, betrayed their counſels, and earneſtly ſolicited the *Engliſh* to aſſault *Scotland*, before they were themſelves aſſaulted and invaded, to which effect they prepare an Army without any juſt pretence, which they give to *Oliver Cromwell* to command; making him Generaliſſimo of all the Forces of that Commonwealth in the room of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, whoſe Commiſſion was between taken away and laid down.

Some time before his Majeſtie's departure from *Holland* into *Scotland*, news was brought of the unfortunate loſſe of all Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet, moſt of his ſhips being either taken, ſunk or burnt by General *Blake*, Admiral to the *Engliſh* Navy; ſo though the Treaty was concluded with

Scot-

Scotland, his Majestie's affairs went every where else to wrack.

At length, all things being in a readinesse, his Majesty about the beginning of *June* 1650. took shipping at *Scheveleng* in *Holland*, and after a tedious storm, and narrow scape of some *English* Vessels which lay in wait for him, arrived at *Spey* in the *North* of *Scotland*. Some Lords are sent down to receive him, & to accompany him to *Edenburgh*, where two stately houses are richly provided and furnish't to entertain him.

He was all along the Countrey entertained with the general joy of all the people, several presents being given to him by the Towns as he came along. *Aberdeen* presented him with 1500. *l.* but the Committee of *Estates* & *Kirk* fearing that such diet would make too unweildy to their pleasures, sent an injunction to severall places, requiring them that whatever

ever moneys they had to bestow, they should bring it unto such Treasuries as should be appointed by them. Thus they permit not the Subjects to shew their good will to their Sovereign, nor him to receive it.

Nor were the *States* and *Kirk* as yet content with those hard conditions: but they send him new Propositions to *Dundee* to sign, which after some reluctancy he performed; for indeed he could do no otherwise, being now in their clutches.

The Parliament and Committee of *Estates* in *Scotland* had while they expected his Majestie's arrivall been consulting about the framing of an Army, every fourth man in the Kingdome is ordered to be trained; and sixteen thousand foot, and six thousand horse to be raised for his Majestie's present service. Of this Army the Earle of *Leven* is made General

of

of the Foot, and *Holborne* Major General, *David Leſley* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and *Montgomery* Major General: the place of *Generaliſſimo* was reſerved for the King, though he never went into the field with his Army.

His Majeſty being come to *Edenburgh*, is received by the Parliament and Committee of *Eſtates* and *Kirk*, with infinite complements and expreſſions of fidelity and affection, and with great acclamations of joy from the people, and on the 15. of *July* is again ſolemnly proclaimed King at *Edenburgh*-Croſſe, but his coronation yet deferred by reaſon of the then troubles.

For the *Engliſh* Army, notwithſtanding the *Scots* had expoſtulaled them the unjuſtneſſe of invading their Countrey, was advanced upon the borders, and at *Muſcleborough* the *Scots* under *Montgomery* with a ſmall

ſmall party, ſet upon the *Engliſh* Army, but were worſted, and ſo the two Armies moved at a diſtance one from the other, till they came as far as *Dunbar*, where the *Scots* had got a conſiderable advantage, by reaſon of a paſſe, and bragg'd they had got the *Engliſh* in a pound: but whether by their own careleſſeneſſe and overſecurity; or the over reaching, courage and valour of the *Engliſh*, I cannot tell, a total loſs they had there, the paſſe gain'd from them, and themſelves wholly routed and diſperſed.

I am the ſhorter in relating the paſſages between theſe two Armies, in regard that though the King was made *Generaliſſimo*; yet he had no influence upon the Army, which might rather be called the *States* or *Kirks* then the Kings; for though he was there preſent, and bore the title of King, yet they had the whole pow-

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es, and made and revoked Laws and Orders.

The King was then with the *States* at Saint *Johnſtones*, when the news of this loſſe, and that of the Death of his Siſter the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* arrived much about the ſame time, and ſome have been bold to affirm that the latter grieved him more then the former, in regard of the imperiouſneſſe, which 'twas probable the States of *Scotland* would have uſurped, had the ſucceſſe anſwered their minds.

And ſufficiently imperious were both they and the *Kirk* already, notwithſtanding the ill fortune of their affairs; for, ſo great was their inſolency towards his Majeſty, in their earneſtneſſe to purge his houſe, in extorting Declarations from him againſt his own party and proceedings, and in uſurping the whole government of affairs to themſelves,

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in placing guards of their own creatures upon his Person, *&c.* That his sacred Majesty no longer able to suffer such intolerable affronts and abuses, went secretly away, accompanied onely with four horse towards the *North* of *Scotland*, where the Marques of *Huntley*, the Earles of *Seaforth* and *Atholl*, the Lords *Ogilby* and *Newburgh*, with the *Gourdons* were ready to appear for him with a considerable party.

Scotland was not at this time only perplexed with a foreign enemy in her bowels, but with civil distempers and divisions; for in the *West* there was a party under the command of *Straughan* and *Kerr*, who declared against the actions of the Committee "of Estates, for their too much hast "and precipitation in the Treaty "with the King for their receiving "him before he had given any evi- "dence of a real change. That they be-

" believed his profession of the cause " and Covenant was counterfeit, & " therefore refused to submit to his " power; These men were purely for the *Kirk* against the King's Authority.

Another Party there was in the North under the Command of *Huntley*, *Atholl*, *Seaforth*, &c. who declared purely for the Kingly Authority disclaiming and disowning all power or order of the *Kirk*, Parliament or Committee of Estates. These having gotten together a considerable party, it was supposed by the Committee of Estates that his Majesty was gon to them, whereupon to quiet and allay them if possible, an Act of Indemnity was passed by Parliament for what they had done; but they sleighted it, fell upon Sir *John Brown*'s Regiment, & slew and took prisoners many of his men; Whereupon Lieu. General *David Lesley*

Lesley was sent against; but the whole businesse after the King's return to S. *Johnston*, s ended in a Treatie.

The third and greatest party were the Parliament and Committee of Estates & *Kirk*, who were equally for King and *Kirk*; these were highly perplexed and discontented at the King's going away from S. *Johnston*'s, and the more because they feared he was gon to the *Atholmen*, many controversies and consultations were had about it; some were so rigid as to propose, that since he had diserted them, they should look no more after him, but let him take his own wayes; Others were more mild, and would yet have him understand their resentment for his leaving them; nor wanted there some sticklers for his Majesty; at length it was concluded that Major General *Montgomery* should speedi-

ly

ly march after him, and earnestly intreat him to return to S. *Johnston*'s.

Montgomery according to his order went, and having had secret information that his Majesty was at the Lord *Dedup*'s house in the North confines of *Fife*; he first surrounds the house, and then sends in a Messenger to acquaint the King with the earnest desires of the Committee of Estates; that he would graciously be pleased to return with him to Saint *Johnston*'s, but his Majesty at first absolutely refused, as scorning to endure that slavery which they had subjected him to, he was in the mean time earnestly solicited by *Huntley*, and the *Gordons* to adhere solely to them, which he so much seemed to incline to, that he had almost made the breach implacable between that party and the *Kirk*; but at length upon several propositions granted him, he returned with *Montgomery* to S. *Johnston*'s. The

The King being thus returned, and *Huntley*'s party come in by admitting those with him to bear publick Offices, a general Meeting was resolved on to be held at Saint *Johnston*'s, which should consist of King, Lords, Barons, Burgesses and the Assembly of Ministers; whereupon the Committee of the *Kirk* are summoned to meet, but stand off, alledging that *Sterling* was the more convenient place to meet in; To which the States answered, that they esteemed S. *Johnston*'s the fitter, that if they would not meet, they should consult for their own securities, but at length they consent; The grand Assembly meets, and all parties seem now agreed. Several Lords formerly in disfavour with the *Kirk*, are received into Command in the Army, or have liberty to sit in Parliament, such as *Hamilton*, *Lauderdale*, *Leith*, *Bucheim*, *Dedup*, and *Crawford*:

ford, Major General *Massey* of the *English* was admitted to a Command in the Army. Thus did their divisions begin to be Cemented, which else must necessarily have hastened their Ruine.

About this time the King received the sad newes of the Death of the thrice Illustrious Prince of *Orange*, Brother-in-law to his Majesty, and who had demonstrated himself a true and faithfull friend to him in his necessities; his Lady the Royal Princesse *Mary* was by him left great with Child, and soon after his death delivered of a *Posthume* son.

And now on the first of *January* the day appointed by the grand Convention at S. *Johnston's*, the solemnity having been removed to *Scone* the usual place for the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*; First his Majesty in a Princes Robe, was conducted from his Bed-chamber by the

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Conſtable and Marſhal to the Chamber of preſence, where he was by the Lord *Angus* Chamberlain placed in a chair under a cloth of Eſtate; Then the Nobles and Commiſſioners of Barons and Burroughs entred the Room, and having ſhown themſelves to his Majeſty, the Chancellor ſpake to this effect. "Sir, your "good Subjects deſire you may be "crowned, as righteous and lawfull "heir of the Crown of this King-"dome, that you would maintain "the preſent profeſſed Religion, the "National Covenant and Solemn "League and Covenant. That you "would graciouſly be pleaſed to re-"ceive them under your protection, "to govern them according to law, "to defend them in their rights and "priviledges by your Royal power, "they offering themſelves in hum-"ble manner to your Majeſty with "their vowes to beſtow land, life and

'and what elſe is in their power for
'the maintenance of Religion, for
'the ſafety of your Majeſties ſacred
'perſon, and maintenance of your
'Crown, which they entreat your
'Majeſty to accept, and pray Al-
'mighty God that for many years
'you may enioy the ſame.

The King to this made Anſwer.

'I do eſteem the affections of
'my good people more then the
'Crowns of many kingdoms, and
'ſhall be ready by Gods aſsiſtance
'to beſtow my life in their defence,
'wiſhing to live no longer, then I
'may ſee Religion and the king-
'dom flouriſh in all happineſs.

This ceremony performed, the Nobles and Commiſsioners of Barons and Burroughs accompanied his Maieſty to the church of *Scoone*; the ſpurres being carried before him

by the Earl of *Eglinton*, the ſword by the Earl *Rothes*, the ſceptet by the Earls of *Craford* and *Lindſay*, the Crown by the Marqueſs of *Argyle*; immediately before the Kings Majeſty: who followed ſupported by the Conſtable and Marſhal, his train born up by the Lords *Montgomory*, *Ereskine*, *Newbottle*, and *Machelene*; under a Canopy of crimſon velvet, ſupported by the Lords *Drummond*, *Garnegie*, *Ramſey*, *Johnſton*, *Brechin*, and *Ryſter*; which ſix were ſupported by ſix Noblemen's ſons.

Thus they went to the Church, which being fitted for the purpoſe, the Honors were laid upon a Table provided for them, and his Majeſty aſcended on a ſtage 24. foot ſquare, and ſeated himſelf in a chair to hear the ſermon; upon this ſtage there was another ſmaller ſtage erected, whereon the Throne ſtood. His Majeſty being ſeated on the Chair, a ſermon

was

was preached by *Robert Douglas* Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly: Sermon being ended, the National Covenant of *Scotland*, & the solemn League and Covenant were distinctly read; which done, the Oath was ministred in these words:

'I *Charles* King of great *Britain*, '*France* and *Ireland*, do assure and 'declare by my solemn Oath in the 'presence of Almight God the search'er of all hearts, my allowance 'and approbation of the National 'Covenant, & of the solemn League 'and Covenant; and faithfully ob'lige my self to prosecute the ends 'thereof in my station and calling; 'and that I for my self and succes'sors shall consent and agree to all 'Acts of Parliament enjoyning the 'National Covenant, and the so'lemne League and Covenant: 'and fully establish Presbyterian

'Government, the Directory of 'Worship, Confession of Faith, 'and Catechisms in the Kingdome 'of *Scotland*, as they are approved 'by the general Assemblies of this 'Kirk, & Parliament of this King-'dome, and that I shall give my 'Royal assent to Acts and Ordi-'nances of this Parliament passed, 'or to be passed, injoining the same 'in my other Dominions. And that 'I shall observe these in mine own 'practice and Family, and shall ne-'ver make opposition to any of 'those, or endeavour any change 'thereof.

The *King* having thus solemnly sworn, the National covenant, the solemn League and Covenant, with the Oath subjoined, was by him underwritten in the presence of them all; which done, the *King* ascended the other Stage, and sate down in the Throne. Then the Lords great

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Conſtable and marſhal went to the four corners of the Stage, *Lyon* king at Arms going before them, who ſpoke theſe words to the people: *Sirs, I do preſent unto you the King,* CHARLES, *the Rightful and undoubted heir of the Crown and Dignity of this Realm; this day is by the Parliament of this Kingdom appointed for his Coronation. And are you not willing to have him for your King, and become ſubject to his commandments?* At this action the king ſtood up, and ſhewed himſelf to the people round about, who expreſſed their conſent by their joiful acclamations, crying, *God ſave King* CHARLES *the* Second.

Then his majeſty deſcended from his Throne into the chaire, where he ſate to hear the Sermon, of whom the miniſter accompanied with ſom others of his Tribe, demanded if he were willing to take the Coronation

Oath, according as it was contained in the eighth Act of the first Parliament of King *James* the VI. his Royal grandfather. The King answered, he was moſt willing. Then was the oath read aloud by the *Lyon* King at Arms in theſe words.

'Becauſe that the encreaſe of 'Virtue, and ſuppreſſing Idolatry 'craveth that the Prince and Peo-'ple be of one perfect Religion, 'which of God's mercy is now pre-'ſently profeſſed within this Realm, 'Therefore it is ſtatuted and ordai-'ned by our Soveraigne Lord, my 'Lord Regent, and three Eſtates of 'this preſent Parliament. That all 'Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates 'whatſoever, holding their place, 'which hereafter at any time ſhall 'happen to reigne and beare rule 'over this Realm, at the time of 'their Coronation, and receit of 'their Princely Authority make

'their

'their faithful promiſe in the pre-
'ſence of the Eternal God: That
'enduring the whole courſe of their
'lives, they ſhall ſerve the ſame
'Eternal God, to the uttermoſt
'of their power, according as he
'hath required in his moſt holy
'Word, revealed and contained in
'the New and Old Teſtaments, and
'according to the ſame words ſhall
'maintaine the true Religion of
'Chriſt Jeſus, the preaching of his
'holy Word, and the due and right
'miniſtration of the Sacraments,
'now received & preached within
'this Realm, and ſhall aboliſh and
'gain-ſtand all falſe Religions con-
'trary to the ſame, & ſhall rule the
'people committed to their charge
'according to the will and com-
'mand of God revealed in his fore-
'ſaid Word, and according to the
'laudable Laws and Conſtitutions
'received in this Realm, no waies

'repugnant to the ſaid Word of the
'Eternal God, and ſhall procure
'to the utmoſt of their power, to
'the *Kirk* of God, and whole
'chriſtian people, true and perfect
'peace in time coming. The rights
'and rents with all juſt priviledges
'of the crown of *Scotland*, to pre
'ſerve and keep inviolated, neither
'ſhall they transfer or alienate the
'ſame. They ſhall forbid and repreſs
'all in all Eſtates and Degrees, Lea-
'ſes, Oppreſsion, and all kinde of
'Wrong in all Judgement. They
'ſhall command and procure that
'Juſtice and Equity be kept to all
'creatures without exception, as
'the Lord and Father of mercies be
'merciful unto them. And out of
'their Lands and Empire they ſhall
'be careful to root out all Hereticks
'and enemies to the true Worſhip
'of God, that ſhall be convict by
'the true *Kirk* of God of the a-
foreſaid

'foresaid crimes; and that he shall 'faithfully affirm the things above 'written by the solemn Oath.

The Oath thus read, the Minister tendered it to the King, who kneeling and holding up his right hand, sware thus. By the Eternal & Almighty GOD, who liveth & reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this Oath.

Then was the King disrobed by the Lord Chamberlain of the Princely Robe, with which he entred the church, and vested with his Royal Robes, & so supported as before, he removed to the chair placed on the *North* side of the Kirk, whither the sword was first brought from the table by Sir *William Cockburn* of *Langtown*, Gentleman-usher, who delivers it to the great Chamberlain, and he making a short speech, delivers it to his Majesty, by whom it was given into the great Constable's hands,

and by him girt to the King's side.

Then his Majesty sitting down in the Chair, the spurs are put on him by the Earl-marshal. After which *Archibald* Marquesse of *Argyle*, takes the Crown into his hands, and after a short Prayer made by the minister, puts it upon his *Majesties* head.

Which done, the Lion King of Arms, the great Constable standing by him, called the Nobility one by one, who came all, and kneeling, and touching the Crown upon the King's head with their right hand, swore thus: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to the uttermost.* The obligatory Oath was likewise read to the people, they holding up their hands.

Lastly, after the Earls of *Craford* and *Lindesay* had delivered his majesty the Scepter, he returned again to

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the Stage, where he was installed in the Throne by the Marquess of *Argyle*, and after a short exhortation of Master *Robert Douglasses*, returned to his Pallace with the Crown upon his head in the same manner as he came.

This is a full relation of the ceremonies performed at his Majesties Coronation at *Scoone* on the first of *January* 1650. which I the rather fully insert, because the World may take notice of those hard Covenant Pills which the *Kirkmen* made him swallow.

Presently after the coronation the King and Nobles returned in a most solemn manner to S. *Johns* town; the Kings Majesty having a guard to attend him, consisting of most Lords and Gentlemen's sons, and the Lord *Lorne*, son to the Marquess of *Argyle* was made Captain of it.

And now his majesty intends with all

all poſſible ſpeed the raiſing of an Army, (for the *Scots* having had all this while no Army on the other ſide the *Fife* to oppoſe the *Engliſh* proceedings, they had reduc'd all places there under their force, even *Edenburgh* Caſtle it ſelf) to which effect he orders his Standard to be ſet up at *Aberdeen*, himſelf nobly reſolving to be *Generaliſſimo* of his Army: the other general commands were now given as well to the Royaliſts as Presbyterians; for Duke *Hamilton* was made Liev. General of the Army, and *Middleton* Lieu. General of the Horſe.

The levies came in apace to the general Rendezvouſe, which was appointed on the *Eaſt* part of *Fife*, whither his *Majeſty* in perſon went to encourage his ſouldiers, whom he found both encreaſing in their numbers, and much reioiced at his preſence.

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The Parliament of *Scotland* which had adiourned to give time for his *Majesties* Coronation; being met again, there were strong endeavors of the Kings, that several Lords of the Royal party should be admitted to their seats in Parliament; but the Assemblies of the *Kirk* at *Sterling* and *Aberdeen* as strongly oppose it, and shew themselves discontented both at this proposal, & likewise at the new Levies, in regard they were there admitted to commands in the Army, as they now desired to have place in Parliament; yet notwithstanding these murmurings, they were upon their reconciliation to the church, and passing the Stool of Repentance, re-admitted to their places in Parliament, such were Duke *Hamilton*, the Marquesse of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Calender*, *Crawford*, and others.

But stil not only many of the *Ministers*

niſters (notwithſtanding there was a ſelect Committee appointed to examine and puniſh ſuch perſons who any way confronted and murmured againſt any deſigns or acts of State) raile againſt theſe proceedings; but ſome of the Nobles too are diſcontented, inſomuch that the Earle of *Sutherland* utterly refuſed to concur with them, and if he could poſſibly, would have oppoſed them by force.

And indeed very many or moſt of the Presbyterians were diſcontented; For the Royal party by the admiſſion of thoſe Lords and others, was grown ſtronger then the Kirk's, and now bore all the ſway, which made the proud *Marqueſs* of *Argyle*, and other Covenantier Lords murmur at, being afraid leſt in time they ſhould wholly be laid aſide, they having already ſeen one of their party begun with, for the Earl of *Louden*, who

who cuſtomarily had the Lord Chancellorſhip of the Kingdome, was removed from his place, & the Lord *Burleigh* conſtituted Chancellor in his ſtead.

Yet on the Covenanters ſide there wanted not ſome Miniſters, ſuch were Mr. *Robert Douglaſs*, and Mr. *David Dicks*, who endeavoured to beget a right underſtanding in both parties, that theſe ſparks of diſcontent might not at laſt burſt out into a flame, as 'twas very much feared they would; but rather that in this time of danger they might lay aſide all animoſities, and unite together againſt the common Eenemy, who elſe would be the ruine of them both.

And now his Majeſty to keepe a correſpondency abroad, ſends the Earl of *Dumferling* Ambaſſador to the States of *Holland*; he had likewiſe at the ſame time ſeveral other Ambaſ-

baſſadors or Agents abroad in the Courts of ſeveral Princes, to require aid; but never found more then what fair and ſugared promiſes produced.

And about this time Sir *Henry Hide* being ſent over to *England* from *Conſtantinople*, (whither he had bin ſent as Ambaſſador from his *Majeſty* to the *Grand Signior*) by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* his means, who was then Ambaſſador for the Republick of *England*, (but yet deem'd a perſon of more loyalty to his Prince, then to have ſent his Ambaſsador to be murder'd, if he could have avoided it) after ſomewhat a formal trial, ſuffered death on a Scaffold before the Royal *Exchange* in *London*, for having taken Commiſſions from his Soveraign.

And not long after him Captain *Brown Buſhel*, who though he had formerly been an enemy to his Ma-

jeſties

ieſties father, yet now ſuffer'd death upon the Tower-hill *London*, for having done ſome ſignal ſervices by ſea for his preſent Majeſty.

But to return to the Kings affairs in *Scotland*, where the ſpecial buſineſses in handwere, the compleating the levies to 15000. foot, and 6000. horſe, which went on apace; and the fortifying the towne of *Sterling*, which his Majeſty intended for the place of his chief reſidence, to the haſtening of the which his Majeſty went often in Progreſs to view the Works, and encourage the pioniers.

And time it was to haſten thoſe Works, for the *Engliſh* drew every day nigher & nigher towards them, having already taken the Fort of *Blackneſs*, which lay between *Sterling* and *Edenburgh*; which was nevertheleſs not accounted ſo great a loſs as the ſurprizal of the Earle of

Eglinton

Eglington and one of his ſons by a party of *Engliſh* horſe at *Dumbarton*; for this Earl was a perſon of a great deal of power in that Nation, and his taking very much obſtructed the going forward of the Levies.

But *Sterling* being almoſt fortified ſufficiently, his *Majeſty* removed his Court hither; where whileſt he was, his Birth-day being the 29. of *May*, was kept through *Scotland*, with all ſuch tokens of joy, as are uſual upon ſuch occaſions; but the town of *Dundee* exceded all the reſt, for beſides their equal expreſſions of Joy, they preſented his *Majeſty* with a rich Tent, ſix pieces of Field Ordinance, and ſet out a Regiment of horſe towards his aſſiſtance at their own charge.

At *Sterling* likewiſe were the head-Quarters kept; moſt of the *Scotch* Army Quartering about it, whither *Middleton*'s leavies from the

the North being come, and amounting to about 8000. men, it came to be a dispute whether these should be a distinct Army by themselves, or be joined with *Lesley*'s Southern Levies; but at length it was thought most convenient to joyne them; and his *Majesty* to prevent those animosities which might arise between *Middleton* and *Lesley* for the Generalship, took upon himself the Command of the whole.

From hence his *Majesty* sent a messenger to the Parliament still sitting at S. *Johnston's*, with these demands:

1. That the Act about the Classis of malignants should be revoked and disannulled, and that an Act pass for its repeal.

2. That there might be no more any mention of the name of malignants amongst them.

3. That Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of

of *Seaforth* and *Callender* &c. might have as full command in the Army as any others.

The demands were ſtrongly debated *pro & con* in the Parliament; the Marqueſs of *Argile* and others of the covenanted ſtrain, endeavouring by all means poſsible to oppoſe them; yet at length, though with much difficulty, they were carried in the affirmative, it being urged by the more moderate ſort too, that the granting of theſe would be the only way to take away all animoſities between thoſe parties which they intended to unite.

The Parliament having granted theſe things to his Maieſty, and given large Commiſsions and Inſtructions for the compleating of the levies about the beginning of *June* diſſolved, leaving all things (in relation to civil and inteſtine diſtempers in a calm and quiet) all parties ſeeming

to

to be pleased, and their actions united towards the opposing of their common Enemy *Cromwell*.

Whilest these things were thus transacted in *Scotland*, a great and terrible plot was discovered against the *Junto* then ruling in *England* & their government in assistance of his Majesty to his just Rights. This design was chiefly laid by those Presbyterians who had been such dire Opponents of his Majesty's blessed father of happy (yet unhappy) memory, *viz.* the greatest part Presbyterian Ministers, who had most of them formerly belcht out such firebrands from their Pulpits as had set both Church and State in a combustion; but now whether out of a real sence of their errour (which I have the charity to believe it was) they had a desire to return to their Allegiance to his son their lawful and native Soveraign; or out of an am-

ambition by joining with their *Scottish* brethren (which I am loath to judge) to get the power again into their hands, which was ſnatched from them by the Independent *Engliſh* Army, and the *Junto* of Sectaries in *England*, they had laid a deſign to raiſe both a contribution of money, and levy men for his Majeſtie's aſſiſtance here; but their plot was betrayed by the intercepting of letters in a ſhip forced by foul weather into *Ayre* in *Scotland*; but bound with proviſions for the *Iſle of Man*, whereupon the chief undertakers in *London* were apprehended, *viz.* Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Gibbons*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Dr. *Drake* and others, of which two, *viz.* *Mr. Gibbons*, and *Mr. Love* were condemned by a High Court of Juſtice, and ſuffered Death on the Tower Hill, for that cauſe againſt which they had once ſo ſtrongly declared.

But

But to return again to the chiefe Scene in *Scotland*. The *Engliſh* Army had long had a deſire to bring the *Scots* to a field-battel, which his *Majeſty* upon ſundry good reaſons and ſerious advice declined: So *Cromwel* endeavoured to the utmoſt of his power to force them to it, & therefore ſeveral times fac'd his *Majeſty's* Army which lay encamped at *Torwood*, within three miles of *Sterling*, but could not yet draw them out of their trenches, the chief reaſon being imagin'd to proceed from their ſtay for *Argile*, *Huntly* and *Seaforth*, who were gone into their ſeveral Territories to compleat the King's Levies.

Cromwel perceiving that he could not draw the *Scots* to a Field-battle, upon a ſudden draws off his Army, and tranſports ſixteen hundred Foot, and four Troopes of Horſe over unto *Fife*, on ſuch a ſudden

ſuddain that it ſtartled his majeſties whole Army; and *Cromwell* with an unparallel'd expedition faced again the royal Army with a reſolution to fall upon their Rear, if they ſhould attempt a motion thitherwards; but they offered not to ſtir; for already order had been given to Sir *John Brown* Governour of *Sterling*, to march with four thouſand Horſe & foot to drive out that party of *Cromwell*'s which were already landed in *Fife*; of which intelligence being brought, *Lambert* and *Okey* with two Regiments of Horſe, and two of foot are with allpoſſible haſt wafted over to reinforce the party already there; with which additional ſupply of men they routed Sir *John Brown*, who expected none but the firſt landed party, taking himſelf & ſeveral other Officers of quality priſoners, & killing two thouſand upon the place, and taking near 1200.

priſoners

priſoners: and ſhortly after *Cromwell* tranſports moſt of his Army over the *Fife*, and reſolving to ſtop the paſſage which the *Scots* had over by *Sterling*, marches to S. *Johnſtone*'s and takes it almoſt upon ſummons.

His Majeſty ſeeing the *Engliſh* Army was advanced ſo far Northward, thought it in vain to attempt the forcing them back; and knowing that the *Scots* naturally fight better in anothers then in their own Countrey, reſolves to advance with all poſſible ſpeed into *England*, *where* he yet hoped, notwithſtanding the diſcovery of the late deſign, to find ſome loyal ſouls to joyn with him for the Recovery of his Right and Kingdomes.

Many were there who oppoſed this intention of his Majeſty, and among thoſe Dvke *Hamilton* was one of the chiefeſt, whoſe diſlike may ſufficiently appear by his Letter to Mr.

Croſts after their Advance to this effect;

We are now laughing, (ſayes he) *at the ridiculouſneſſe of our preſent ſtate; we have quit* Scotland *being ſcarce able to maintain it: and yet we graſpe at all, and nothing but all will ſatisfie us, or to looſe all. I confeſs I cannot tell whether our hopes or fears are greateſt; but we have one ſtout Argument, Deſpair: for we muſt now either ſtoutly fight or die: all the Rogues have left us, I ſhall not ſay whether out of fear or diſloyalty; but all now with his Majeſty are ſuch as will not diſpute his Commands.*

But notwithſtanding his diſlike, and his and others oppoſitions, yet the Kings reſolve takes place, and on *July* the 31. 1651. his Majeſties Army began to advance from *Torwood* near *Sterling*, ſteering their courſe directly for *England*, which they entred ſix dayes after by way of *Carliſle*;

liſle. This march of the Royal Army made *Cromvvell* with the greateſt part of his forces immediately recroſſe the *Frith*, and forthwith ſend Major General *Lambert* with a ſelect party of Horſe and Dragoons to fall upon the Rear of his Majeſties Army, whileſt they hoped that Major General *Harriſon* who then lay near the borders with about three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, would attach them in the Front; ſhortly after Himſelf followed with the reſt of the Army which could be ſpared, amounting to about eight compleat Regiaments of Foot, and two of Horſe.

But then this, greater preparation is made againſt him in *England*, for the *Functo* then ſitting at *Weſtminſter* not only interdicted all aid or aſſiſtance either of men or monyes to be given to his Majeſty under the penalty of High Treaſon; but alſo in

all or moſt of the Countries had cauſed a numerous force to be raiſed, the *Church-Militia* of the City of *London* being likewiſe ſent out againſt him; and for the preſent impeading of his march, two thouſand of the Countrey-*Militia* of *Staffordſhire*, and four thouſand out of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, under the command of Collonel *Birch*, had joyned with *Harriſon*.

But beſides all this, many of the Royal Army had in their march deſerted their Colours, and near a fourth part of the Army was wanting, but theſe were moſt of them ſuch, as were not very well affected to the buſineſſe nor cauſe they went about; and therefore there was but little miſſe of them, for the reſt of the Army marched on chearefully, and continued to the utmoſt puſh ſtedfaſt and loyal; and were ſo contentedly obedient to all Military Diſci-

pline

pline, that 'tis believed that in all their march through all that in part of *England* they hardly took the value of ſixpence forcibly.

But notwithſtanding this unwonted civility of the *Scotiſh* Army, and his Majeſtie's earneſt invitations, the Countrey came very ſlowly in, whether beſotted, dulled and contented with that ſlavery they then lay under or over-awed by an armed power, I cannot well tell, but ſuch was their backwardneſs, that few or none beſides the Lord *Howard* of *Eſtrich* his ſon with a Troop of Horſe came in to him, during his long tedious march through *England*.

Nor did his Majeſty with his Army take that courſe which was expected by moſt he ſhould; for the great fear of his Enemies, and greateſt hopes of his friends were, that he would march directly for *London*, but he contrary to their expectations,

being coming into *Lancaſhire*, ſtruck off at *Warrington*, either doubting the enterprize for *London* too hazardous, or out of the hopes had of the forces, it was expected Major General *Maſſey* might raiſe in *Gloceſterſhire*, which was the then generally vogued reaſon.

But before his Majeſty could paſſe over *Warrington* Bridge, he had occaſion to try the ſtoutneſſe of his ſouldiers; for here *Harriſon* was reſolved if poſſible to ſtop him, and was endeavouring to that purpoſe to have broken down the Bridge; but his Majeſtie's forces by a ſwift march from *Charley*, prevented his deſign, and forced him to an engagement. The diſpute was ſomewhat hot and long, but at length his Majeſty got the better; for he gained a free paſſage over the Bridge, though with the loſſe of ſome men.

This bridge gained, his Majeſty mar-

marched on towards the *West*, without any oppoſition: and indeed with as little aſſiſtance or increaſe of numbers: yet being all along as he came, proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, by an *Engliſh* man, whom he had created King at Armes.

Being come to *Tong Norton*, his Majeſty ſent a Trumpet with his Royal ſummons to Colonell *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*, which ran thus.

C. R.

Col. MACKWORTH,

BEing deſirous to attempt all fair waies for the recovery of our own, before we proceed to force and extremity, and (where the controverſie is with ſubjects) accounting that a double victory which is obtained with-

out effusion of bloud, and where the hearts that of right belong to us are gained as well as their strengths. We do hereby summon you to surrender unto us our Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, *as in duty and allegiance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to do, thereby not onely preventing the mischief which you may otherwise draw upon your self and that place, but also opening the foredoor to peace and quietness, and the enjoyment of every one both King and people, that which pertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at our Camp of* Tong-Norton *this* 22. August 1651.

This Summons was accompanyed with a Letter from his Majesty exhorting him, as he was a Gentleman to return to his duty and Allegiance, upon promises of Pardon and reward.

To

To both which Col. *Mackworth* returned anſwer thus;

For the Commander in Chief of the *Scottiſh* Army.

SIR,

BY *your Trumpeter* I *received two Papers, the one containing a propoſition, and the other a direct ſummons for the rendition of the town and Caſtle of* Shrewſbury, *the Cuſtody whereof* I *have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you ſay you do) you may believe* I *will be faithful to my truſt, to the violation whereof neither* Allurements *can perſwade me, nor threatnings of force; eſpecially when but paper ones compell me? what principles* I *am judged to be of,* I know *not; but* I *hope they are ſuch as ſhall ever declare me honeſt, and no way differing herein (as* I know*) from thoſe engaged in the ſame employment*

with me; who ſhould they deſert that cauſe they are imbarqued in, I reſolve to be found as I am, unremoveable,

The faithful Servant of the
Commonwealth of *England*,
H. Mackworth.

Thus flat a denyal did his Majeſties Royal ſummons receive here; nor did his Commands to Sir *Thomas Middleton* Governour of *Chirk* Caſtle in *Flintſhire*, for the levying of men for his ſervice, find better ſucceſſe.

But from hence his Majeſty directs his courſe for *Worceſter*, where he arrives on the twenty ſecond of *Auguſt*, and notwithſtanding ſome reſiſtance made by the Parliaments ſouldiers, quickly enters by the help of the towns men, who joyfully returned to their Allegiance and Duty; here 'twas again ſolemnly debated

ted whether they ſhould remain here or march for *London*, and was at length concluded that in regard of the Long and tedious marches that the Souldiery had had, it would be much better to tarrie here; that after ſome refreſhment they might be able with more vigor and courage to endure the brunt.

The Earl of *Derby* who had ſome few daies before his Majeſties arrival at *Worceſter* brought him a ſupply of two hundred and fifty foot and ſixty horſe, which he had brought with him out of the Iſle of *Man*, and was returned back into *Lancaſhire*, out of hopes that by his influence upon that Countie he might get a more numerous force there, having got together a conſiderable partie, was routed by Col. *Lilburn*, who was there with a partie to watch his motions; and was firſt engaged by the Earl, out of a

deſign

deſign he had to hinder *Lilburn*'s joyning with a Regiment of *Cromwell*'s; which was ſent for the ſame purpoſe towards *Mancheſter*, but the Engagers themſelves were defeated; and moſt of the Earles chief Commanders and the Gentlemen of note with him taken priſoners, ſuch were the Lord *Witherington*, Sir *Thomas Tilſley*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Col. *Boynton*, and ſundry others.

His Majeſty being now at *Worceſter* and reſolving there to ſtay and endure the utmoſt brunt, all preparations poſſible are made, for the fortifying of the place and gaining all advantages poſſible; to which purpoſe a Line and ſeveral Mounts were quickly raiſed by the Pioniers, and all paſſes about the Town and towards it ſecured.

But Major General *Lambert* on the Republick's ſide, ſending ſuddenly

denly a party of Horſe to diſcover the difficulty of the paſs at *Upton*, (where Major General *Maſſey* (for his Majeſty) lay with a party of about 300. Horſe and Dragoons) thoſe deſperate fellows being not above fifty in number, adventured over upon one piece of Timber, which had been careleſly left from arch to arch. And though *Maſſey*'s men took the allarm, yet was *Lambert* ſo quick in ſending over relief to his Souldiers (whom the Royal party had beleaguered in a Church) that the paſs was clearly gained, and Major General *Maſſey* forced to retreat (though as honourably as ever man did) for himſelf ſtill brought up the Rear, in which ſervice (though his Horſe was ſlain under him, and himſelf ſhot in the arm) yet he got off with a very inconſiderable loſs.

And now *Cromwell*'s Army began to joyn with all thoſe parties, which had

had conſpired there to ruine his Majeſty, whom they accounted already like a Bird in a Cage; for his Royal Army conſiſted (at the moſt) of not above 10000. fighting men, whereas the Army that then beleaguer'd and encompaſſed them was one of the greateſt that had (during the whole time of the late warre) been raiſed in *England*, amounting (according to common computation) to ſome 50. or 60. thouſand Horſe and Foot; ſo that (as I have been well informed) this Army, though in a more ſanctified ſtrain, bragg'd and inſulted more over his Majeſty, then the *French* Army at *Agincourt* did over the thrice Illuſtrious King *Henry* 5. Yet notwithſtanding their aſſurances of making him their prize: it pleaſed God (though not to give him the ſucceſſe that *Henry* the 5. had) yet to deliver him out of their bloud-thirſty hands.

When

When I ſpeak of the Armies inſulting over his Majeſtie's miſery; I hope the Reader will underſtand me in the generality; for though many, and perhaps the major part were glad at theſe his ſtraits; yet many noble and candid loyal ſouls there were, whom nothing but a tyranical impulſion could have forced to have born Arms againſt their lawfull Sovereign. It being well known that thouſands were forced out of ſeveral Countreys to ſerve againſt their wills, and them too put into the brunt of the battel, as though deſtined for the ſlaughter.

But for all theſe numerous forces which encompaſſed the Royal Army, they were chearful and reſolved to ſell their lives at a noble rate, his Majeſty by the example of his undaunted courage, principally encouraging them: ſo that many vigorous ſallies were made upon their E-

ne-

nemies, and though their ſupernumeraries forc't them to a retreat, yet was it very ſeldome or never ignobly.

But now the fatall day draws nigh, a day before ſo eminently auſpicious to *Cromwell*, and as unfortunate to the *Scots*, *viz.* the third day of *September*. The fight was occaſioned thus: *Cromwell Fleetwood*, and others of the Republick party, had after the gaining the paſs at *Upton*, endeavoured to make themſelves a clear paſſage to the City, that their Army might joyn in the Leaguer, to which end and purpoſe they ordered the making of two Bridges, the one over the *Severn*, the other over *Thame*, over the laſt or which paſſes Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood* went to attach the *Weſt* ſide of the Town, which ſo allarum'd the Royall Army, who then lay within their Leaguer at St. *Fones*, that to prevent their drawing

nigh-

nigher, they sayled out with the greatest part of their horse and foot, and a stiffe encounter there was, 'till over powred by numbers more then by valour, which they demonstrated to the utmost of mens strength: they were forced to retire again into their Leaguer, leaving more of their Enemies dead bodies in the field, then of their own.

But whilst this encounter was on the *west* side of the Town. *Cromwell* having pass't his Army over *Severn*, he march't directly to the Town on that side, whereupon his Majesty in person, and in the head of the Horse, sallied out upon him, and that with so much valour and courage, that *Cromwel*'s own life-guard, and the best of his old Souldiers. (who were thought almost invincible) were forc't to retire, 'till seconded by those numerous supply's of fresh souldiers, who served only like

the

the *Turkish Aſapi*, to blunt the Royall ſwords, ſo that their wearied arms no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at length (notwithſtanding the generous example of his Majeſty, who performed things worth wonder) to a diſorderly flight; and notwithſtanding his Majeſtie's earneſt endeavours (in which he had his horſe twice ſhot under him) to bring them again to a rally, yet it proved fruitleſſe; for the *Cromwellian* Army pouring forth their numbers upon them, permitted them not ſo much time, but following them cloſe at the heels to the Town, towards which they fled, entred pelmel with them.

And now notwithſtanding their flight, and the danger of their own lives; yet had they ſo much care of their Sovereign, that the whole cry through out both Town and Army was nothing elſe but *Save the King*,

Save

Save the King; for him they knew it was that the *Functo*'s Army chiefly looked after, and indeed in great danger he was; for notwithſtanding the earneſt deſires of many of his friends, and particularly Duke *Hamilton*, who preſſed him to have a care of his ſafty, and reſerve his perſon to a more fortunate day; yet his Majeſty was hardly induced to quit the field, nor would he till he ſaw all abſolutely loſt; for *Cromwel*'s Army having as I ſaid followed the Royalliſts into the Town, and got poſſeſſion of one ſide of it, and after by two or three ſtrong aſſaults upon the fort Royall (where the *Cheſhire* men (never before found ſo diſloyall to their Prince; and therefore found now their due) who out of three thouſand men ſacrificed the lives of 1600 to the Ghoſts of thoſe new Royalliſts which were all put to the ſword in it).

it) it vvas taken by ſtorm; and now when it was almoſt to late, his ſacred Majeſty thought it high time to provide for his ſafety; and ſo vvith ſome Nobles and Servants not vvithout a great deal of difficulty, (for hovv could it be othervviſe vvhere there vvas ſuch hard ſearch made for him,) he quit the field, and by the moſt unfrequented roades that they could poſſibly find out, rode to the Farme-houſe of a Noble Gentleman on the borders of *Staffordſhire*, vvhere they no ſooner arrived but his Majeſty diſrobed himſelf of his princely Ornaments and accoutrements; and particularly of a Chain of Gold or ſpannar-ſtring worth three hundred pounds ſterling, the preſent of a *Scottiſh* Lord, vvhich he beſtovved upon a ſervant of his there preſent: vvhich done for his farther diſguiſe, he proceeded to the cutting of his hair, and the Cote affording neither

ſhears

ſwears nor teſtars to perform it, it was by the Lord *Wilmot* cut off with a Knife.

And now every one is commanded to ſhift for himſelf, and this poor Prince left alone to the ſole protection of the Almighty, he chooſing none but one friend to accompany him, with whom he wandred into a Wood, (within four miles (ſay ſome) of *Wolverhampton*, where finding a hollow Oke, he was now content to make it his Pallace, for here he for ſome daies concealed himſelf, his Friend ſtill towards night going out to provide him ſome refreſhment during this his ſolitary confinement.

In the mean time the Lord *Wilmot* who was commanded with the reſt to ſeek his fortune, was by chance purſued by ſome ſouldiers, but meeting with a Countrey fellow formerly a Souldier in the Old King's

King's Army, he was by him ſecured though ſomewhat ſtrangely, for he carries him into a Malt-houſe belonging to Mrs. *Jane Lane*, and having no other convenient place to hide him in, clapt him under the kilne, though there were then ſome fire in it, and the malt ſmoaking on the top. In the mean time the ſouldiers then in purſuit of him, entred the houſe, and having made about three quarters of an hours ſearch every where elſe, but not at all ſuſpecting the kilne, where they ſaw the fire, they departed, and the Lord *Wilmot* was taken out of the kilne almoſt ready to faint with the extremity of the heat.

The countrey-fellow having thus ſecured this Lord, acquaints Mrs. *Lane* with what he had done, and ſhe extremly glad of it, gets him to her houſe, where in conference ſhe enquires of the King's ſafety. The

Lord

Lord *Wilmot* gives her the former relation of his miſeries and diſtreſſe, which forces tears from the tender hearted Gentlewoman, ſhe earneſtly entreats him to take ſome courſe for the finding out of his Majeſty, and conducting him to her houſe, ſhe being reſolued to venture her life had ſhe ten thouſand, for the ſaving of his Royal Majeſties.

The Lord *Wilmot* glad of ſo happy an oppertunity to ſerve his Majeſty, and ſo great a probability of ſecuring him, the next night finds him out, and conducts him from the Royal Oak to the Houſe of Mrs. *Jane Lane*, where after a large condoling of his hard fortune, conſultation was had for a conveniency for his Eſcape beyond ſea, and at length it was concluded that *Briſtol* would be the moſt convenient place to take ſhipping, That his Majeſty ſhould ride before Mrs. *Lane* by the

the name of *Willian*, ſervant to Mr. *Laſtel* her father in Law, who was likewiſe to go with them; and thus it was immediately given out, that Mr. *Laſtel* and Mrs. *Lane* were to take a jonrney into the *weſt*, to viſit ſome friends, and ſhortly after they ſet forward.

In this journey there happened many accidents worthy commemoration, and firſt, the King's Majeſty riding now as ſervant to one of the faithfulleſt of his ſubjects, in a Livery cloak, though not without that reſpect that durſt be given to him; complains to Mrs. *Lane* that the Cloak wearied him, whereupon ſhe deſires Mr. *Laſtel* to carry it, and long they had not rid ſo, but they meet upon the Road her Brother-in law, who amongſt other queſtions demanded of her, if her father muſt carry her mans Cloak, to which ſhe readily anſwered, that it was ſo

big

big that it often endangered the throwing her off the horſe, and that ſhe had therefore deſired him to carry it.

The next, and indeed moſt important accident of all was, that coming into a Town which they were to paſs through, there was a troop of horſe there to be quartered, drawn up, which at diſtance cauſed ſome fear; but at length with a reſolution they paſsed on, and the Captain taking them for honeſt travellers, made his Troope open to the right and left, and ſo permitted them to paſs.

Another accident there happened, which one may ſay was almoſt comical in this Tragedy; Mrs. *Lane* coming into the Inne, leaves his Majeſty under the name of *William* her ſervant, in the Kitchin, with whom the maid enters into diſcourſe, ſhe asks him where he was

born, and what trade he was; he answers, at *Brumingham*, & a Naylors Son; and after a great deal of other discourse, the Jack being down, the Maid desires him to winde it up; which he willingly undertakes; but goes the wrong way about it, and somewhat prejudices it; at which the maid grew angry, asking him where he was bred, and telling him he was the veryest clownish booby that ever she saw in all her life; with railing of hers made his Majesty notwithstanding his present misery, go out of the room smiling.

Mrs. *Lane* notwithstanding his Majesty went as her servant, yet had a greater respect for him before others, pretending him her Tenant's son; but on the Road she would alwayes ask what he would have to dinner or supper; and what piece of that he liked, which she would always be sure to get made ready, and

give

give him, he ſtil ſitting at the lower end of the Table.

But to come to the end of their Journy; being arrived at *Briſtol*, they lodged at the houſe of a noble Gentleman there, and Kinſman to *Mr. Laſtles*: the King finding it to be a houſe of a great reſort, feigns himſelf ſick of an Ague, and ſo keepes his Chamber all the day, coming down only at nights; but one night coming down, and being ſomewhat cold, he craves a glaſſe of Wine of the Butler, who carries him into the Butlery: This Butler having before ſerved his *Majeſties* Father in the Warres, looking earneſtly upon him, ſuſpected him to be the King; ſo eaſily wil *Majeſty* appear, though veil'd in the utmoſt diſguiſes; and thereupon pulling off his hat, told him very ceremoniouſly, That he might command what Wine he pleaſed; of which the King tooke

no notice, but drinking off his Wine went out: Yet the Butler could not satisfie his suspition, but went up to *Mr. Lastell's*, and demanded of him how long he had had that servant? Whereupon Mr. *Lastells* was very angry at his boldness in daring to ask him such a question: but the Butler still persisted, and whispering told him, that he believed it was the King: Whereupon Mr. *Lastells* seeing he was discover'd, sends immediately up for his Majesty, whom he acquaints with the Butler's discovery of him, with whom the King was somewhat angry, in regard he did not first acquaint himself with his suspition, it not being impossible, but Mr. *Lastells* might not have known him to be the King: but upon pardon asked by the Butler, it was granted by the King, and he afterwards proved very instrumental in his Majesties conveyance through the Countrey.

But

But here at *Briſtol*, the chief deſign they had in hand failed them; for though there were a little Bark lay there, judged moſt covenient for the buſineſſe; yet the *Maſter* wouldfor no reward tranſport a ſingle perſon, though he was ſo honeſt as only to deny it, and made no farther ſearch or inquiry concerning the Perſon, which might perhaps have tended to a diſcovery.

This deſign here failing, his *Majeſty* deſired to be brought ſome miles Weſtward, to the houſe of a worthy Gentleman, whom he knew to be a truſty friend; where coming, he findes the Gentleman in the Field with his Servants: Having diſcovered himſelf to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient ſtand 'till night, (having firſt taken leave of his true friends, who had thus far conducted him with the danger of their Lives and Eſtates) from whence he was in the dusk

conveyed into the Houſe, and there carefully concealed for a week, till ſuch time as preparation could be made in ſome *weſtern* Port of a paſſage for him; but coming afterwards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a Parliament-Colonel then there, he thought it the ſafer to looſe the benefit of that paſſage, then adventure to imbarque himſelfe ſingly, which might breed ſuſpition, and perhaps have bin the means after ſo many deliverances, to have betrayed him into the hands of his enemies.

This paſſage then likewiſe failing him, he returned back to the place from whence he came, and there concealed himſelf three weeks longer, till in the end it being reſolved on, he by the aſſiſtance of Mr. *Ph.* was conveyed through the moſt byways they could imagine, to a Gentlewomans houſe in *Suſſex*, where he

he lay ſome few daies, til a perſon of true worth and honor made proviſion of a faithful maſter, who with a ſmall Veſſel wafted him to a ſmal Creeke in *Normandy*, to the great content of the Kings ſacred Majeſty, and all his loyal Subjects, and to the honour of the Maſter with due reward, as in time may appear.

Perhaps the Reader may think it tedious that I have given ſo large a relation of his *Majeſty's* eſcape from that fight at *Worceſter*; but it was a work ſo full of wonder and providence, and ſo many falſe relations there are abroad, that I could do no leſs then recount all thoſe miſeries & hardſhips which this poor Prince endured for the ſakes of us his ſubjects & more would he wilingly have endured, even death it ſelfe, to the redeeming of us from the tyranny and oppreſſion which we then groaned under.

But let him that ſhall look upon the ſeveral paſſages of his, read them over and over, conſider the ſeveral difficulties he paſsed, the many dangers he was in to be betrayed, the countrey being up round about, the ſumme of money ſet upon his head, for which, many hundreds out of covetouſneſs made it their buſineſs to ſearch for him; and they wil confeſs ingenuouſly, that God was never ſo merciful to any people, as to us, in delivering his ſacred Majeſty ſo wonderfully out of the hands of his Enemies, who breathed out nothing but his death and deſtruction, that we may yet have hopes to be a happy Nation.

But let us now return to give a ful account of this diſmal loſs at *Worceſter*, in which moſt of his Maieſty's footwere either made a priſe ora ſacrifice to their enemies ſword; of the horſe there eſcaped 3000. out of the field,

field, but were moſt afterwards either taken or knockt on the head by the Countrey in their flight; three thouſand were judged ſlain in the Field, and about ſeven thouſand taken priſoners; whereof the chiefe were, the Earls *Derby*, *Lauderdale*, *Cleaveland*, *Shrewsburgh*, and the Lord *Wentworth*; and many other noble perſons taken in the purſuit: And the chief of thoſe taken in the battel were, the Earls of *Carnwarth* and *Kelly*, the Lord *Synclare*, Sir *John Packington*; the Maior Generals, *Montgomery* and *Piſcotty*; and the *Virgil* of this Age, that thrice worthy *Mr. Richard Fanſhaw*, Tranſlatour of the renowned *Paſtor Fido*, and Secretary to his Majeſty. As for the thrice noble Duke *Hamilton*, he was taken, but not overcome; overpowred, but not vanquiſh't. For after having made a moſt Heroick reſiſtance, he was reduced under his

enemies power, more for want of ſtrength then valour; but death entring in at thoſe wounds which he ſo gallantly received in defence of his Soveraign, ſoon after releaſed him. Major General *Maſſey*, though he eſcaped the field; yet his wounds being deſperate, he was forced to ſurrender himſelf to the Counteſſe of *Stamford*, and was by her ſon, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, after the recovery of his wounds, ſent up priſoner to the Parliament, and by them committed to the Tower, from whence he not long after eſcaped, and went to his Majeſty beyond ſea.

This ſtrange and wonderful Victory (as the Juncto at *Weſtminſter* gave it out to be, though they had ſix to one in the field) made that ſectarian party cock-a-hoop; and to make it the greater, publick days of Thanks-giving are appointed to make God the patronizer of their vil-

villanies, murders, tyrannies and treasons; and now they boast in all their discourses how clearly it might appear that God owned their cause, and disowned their adversaries.

I think a modern Writer hath sufficiently confuted that commonly received *tenent* of *Politicians*, * *That success denotes actions to be either just or unjust.* I shall therefore leave the sober Reader here to satisfie himself, and refer it to him, whether such do not justly deserve *Ovid*'s wish:

* See Modern Policy.

——— *Gareat successibus opto,*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Let him for ever in success be poor.
That thinks it justifies his cause the more.

But

But this Nation is so highly sensible of the injustice put upon themby those who pretend so much right in their Cause, that there's no Loyal Subject but will think according to reason, that it was not the justice of their cause, but our own and the Nation's sinnes which caused God to raise up these men as scourges both to Prince and people; and to the Prince onely for the Peoples sake.

Some I have heard, which out of a spirit which I cannot well define, have endeavoured to brand his Royal *Majesty* with Cowardize in this battel; which from whence it could proceed, unlesse from their own coward nature, which would insimulate another in that of which themselves are guilty, I cannot imagine; since *Cromwell* the greatest of his Enemies (because the most desirous of his Kingdoms) yet had so much

much of truth in him, as to give a high and noble Character of his Valour.

But to proceed, 'We have now ſaid enough of this fatal battel, the ſeeming ruine of the Royal Intereſt in *England*, unleſs God of his mercy be pleaſed to reſtore it for the good, peace and quiet of theſe Nations, ſince without it we cannot hope to enjoy any.

His ſacred Majeſty being landed in *France* near *Havre de Grace*; from thence with a Noble Lord in his Company, poſted directly for *Roan*, where they ſtayed to alter their diſguiſes, and furniſh them with habits anſwerable to their Qualities; his Majeſty from thence having diſpatch't Letters to the *French* Court to acquaint his friends there of his ſafe arrival, which doubtleſſe cauſed no little joy in thoſe who were real to him, and almoſt deſpaired

ever

ever again to have ſeen him. The Duke of *Orleans* ſends his own Coach to fetch him, & ſeveral perſons of quality go to meet him; by whom he was attended to *Paris*, and there received with all poſſible expreſſions of joy, lodgings and attendants being forthwith provided for him in the *Louure*; where at his firſt arrival he was viſited by the Queen his Mother, & the Duke of *Orleans*, who of all perſons in the Kingdome expreſt himſelf the moſt ready to do him ſervice; and the next day viſits him again, accompanied with his Daughter *Madamoiſelle*. He is likewiſe courted by the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Longueville*, *Guize*, the Marſhal *Thurine*, and many other Peers and Nobles of *France*, who all congratulate his ſafe deliverance.

And now his Majeſty having loſt all hopes of any further means of attaining his Dominions by force, leads

leads here a retired life; yet living in regard of his high alliance & extraction, in great esteem with all the *French* Nobility: Insomuch that notwithstanding his present low condition, there was very great talk of a match to be made up between him and the *Madamoiselle de Orleans*, the richest Princes in Christendom; yet by some means or other it came to no effect though the Queen of *England* his Mother, was an earnest promoter of it, and also of the Duke of *York* to *Longneville*'s daughter.

Whilest these things were transacting, hapned that lately reconciled Fracture between the Prince of *Conde* & Cardinal *Mazarine*, most of the Princes of the Blood siding with the first; & the King of *France* (who was newly declared of age to sway the Scepter himself) with the last. The cause of the quarrel was that

that extravagant power which *Mazarine* a ſtranger had uſurped in the government of the Kingdome, both depriving the Princes of the Blood of their Right, and oppreſſing the people; whoſe daily murmurings more encouraged the Princes againſt him: This power he had got into his hands in the Regency of the *Queen* Mother, whoſe grand favourite he only was.

The Princes therefore, though they could not during her Regency who ſo much loved him, yet hoped they might effect ſomething now the King himſelf is come to govern; to which intent they charge him with ſeveral miſcarriages of State, which the Cardinal defends, and the King alſo enclines to his ſide by the inſtigation of the Queen his Mother; yet nothing but the Cardinal's baniſhment will ſatisfie the Princes, who join the Duke of *Lorain* to them,

them, then in the service of the *Spaniard*, with an Army of ten thousand men; so that they intend with his assistance (if they could not obtain their desires by fair means) to have forc't it.

Thus these differences were arrived at such a height, that nothing but a Civil War was like to ensue; which made his Sacred Majesty of *England* use his utmost endeavours to compose and stay this breach, before it came to an utter overflow; to which effect he daylie went to and fro betwixt the King & the Princes; endeavouring to bring them to a reconciliation, urging by his own example the miseries and calamities that must necessarily fall upon every man's head by a Civil War, telling the King that the late Example of his Royal Father of happy memory, might be an inducement to him to be at peace with his Subjects, rather

ther then embroil his Kingdoms in a bloody War, by which though he might for the preſent gain the better; yet in the end he would ſtill be ſure to have the worſe.

Yet theſe Arguments, and his Majeſty's earneſt endeavours for peace and reconciliation, produced nothing, but only contract an unjuſt *odium* upon him from both parties for his good will; the Princes believing that he counſelled the King againſt them, and the *Cardinal* again him: So that he loſt the love of both by endeavouring to make them love one another; yet notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſſe he had, this Noble Prince ſtil purſues his pacifick intentions, til ſuch time as he gains a conference between the *King*, *Cardinal* and *Princes*: but this proves ineffectual; for the *Princes* heightened with the aid they expected from the Duke of *Lorain*, inſtead of coming to

an

an accord, onely exasperate differences.

Yet his sacred Majesty ceases not, but indeavours to bring them yet to a peaceable compliance; and in order thereunto procures another conference, where he himself would be Moderatour; but this proves as ineffectual as the former; For the *Prince* of *Conde* was above all others outragious, and would come to no agreement, except *Mazarine* were first banished *France*; and the *French* King as violently persisted in his resolution against it, alledging, *That he had approved himself both a faithfull servant, and an able Minister of State.* So instead of agreement, both sides prepare for Warre, yet are both sides equally angry, and exasperated against his sacred Majesty for his good will towards them and the nation, the one and other party imagining that both he and his Mother had

had given counſels oppoſite to their deſigns.

But that which above all exaſperated the Princes againſt his Majeſty of *England*, was the ſudden lukewarmneſs of the Duke of *Lorain* in the buſineſſe: For though he had drawn off his Army, as though he had complied with their reſolutions to come to a battel; yet being ſent for by the Princes to advance towards *Paris*, he refuſed to come, which made the Princes believe there had been ſome underhand-dealing with him; and that which moſt of all increaſed their jealouſies that King *Charles* had a hand in it, was this, The Duke of *Beaufort* coming to the Camp of *Lorain* to deſire him in the name of the Princes to come up and fight, found there his Majeſty & his Brother the Duke of *York* in private conference with *Lorain*, who withdrawing when

Beau-

Beaufort appeared; & *Beaufort* finding the *Duke*'s averſneſs to the enterprize confirmed him, and he confirmed the Princes of the King of *England*'s endeavours, whereby he had withdrawn *Lorain* from their party: This coming to the peoples ears who were abſolute favourers of the Princes, and invetrate enemies to *Mazarine*, ſo extremely incenſed them againſt the *Engliſh Princes*, that they threaten violence and indignities to their perſons, and are not afraid to affront the *Queen* their Mother, in her Coach; which made his Majeſty to avoid the popular fury, retire himſelf from the *Louure* to St. *Germane*.

Nor is the *Cardinal* leſs incenſed, though under a more politick vail: For though both Princes & People might imagine and believe that his *Majeſty* had counſel'd things oppoſite to their intentions, yet the *Cardinal*

dinal very wel knew that he had advised the King as the best course, to consent to his departure out of the Kingdom; and that if he had endeavoured to draw *Lorain* from their party, 'twas only out of a desire he had to expedite their agreement; he therefore resolves to thwart him in all his designs.

And so he did to the utmost of his endeavours: For his *Majesty* though suspected by the Princes, in his several conferences with *Lorain* to have endeavoured to divert him from them, was onely transacting with him for the recovery of his Kingdome of *Ireland* out of the hands of the *English* Republick; to which effect several Articles were drawn up between the Duke of *Lorain*, and the Lord *Taaf*; two of which were:

1. *That the Duke of* Loraine *should transport an Army of* 10000.

10000 men at his own charges into Ireland, there to join with such as should be found Loyal, for the Recovery of his Majesties Rights in that Kingdom.

2. That the Duke of Lorain should by his Majesty be invested with the Power and Title of Protector Royal of Ireland.

These Articles though drawn up, never came to be signed; the cause of which some have imagined to be the disability of the *Duke* to perform the Enterprize without the Aid of some other Prince; but we may in more reason guesse, it proceeded from the strenuous endeavours of *Mazarine* (his Majesty's so lately made-enemy) to divert the Duke's Army, then from any other cause.

Many in *England* upon hearing of these Propositions made to the Duke of *Lorain*, (which I must confess

ſeſs ſome believe to have never proceeded any farther then Diſcourſe of the Dukes) feared his Majeſties too great inclination to the *Romiſh* Religion, which fear his after-retirement at St. *Germain*'s, convinced there was no need of: For here he ſpent his time wholly in Piety and Devotions, according to the beſt Worſhip of the Church of England, never forgetting to pray for thoſe his Enemies who were not only content to have deprived him of his Kingdomes, but continually belched forth both ſlanders and maledictions againſt him.

His Majeſty having ſtaid at S. *Germaines* till ſuch time as the heat of the popular fury was over; which decreaſed ſtill towards him as they found *Mazarine* more averſe to him, returned again to the *Louvre*; where during his abode, his brother the Duke of *Gloceſter* (who had a long

long time been detained by the *Junto* of *England* in the Iſle of *Wight*, and was lately permitted by them to go to his Siſter the Princeſs Royall in *Holland*) came to him, accompanied from the *Hague* by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Richard Greenvile*; he was at his arrivall at *Paris* honourably received by the King of *France*, and *Queen* Mother; and courted according to his birth by the reſt of the Grandees and Peers of the Kingdome.

Likewiſe during his Majeſties abode here, arrived his *Quondam* Preſerver Mrs. *Jane Lane*, who after ſhe had taken leave of his Majeſty at *Briſtow*, returned home; and lived for ſome ſpace in a great deal of ſecurity, not doubting ſhe could be betrayed: Yet at length by what means I know not, (though indeed I have heard of many relations that I dare not relate any) it came to light; yet

ſhe had ſome timely notice of it, whereupon ſhe who had formerly diſguiſed his Majeſty in a Servingmans habit, now diſguiſes her ſelf in that of a Country wench; and that trots on foot (to ſave her life which ſhe was like to looſe for having formerly ſaved his ſacred Majeſties) quite croſſe the Countrey to *Zarmouth*, where ſhe found ſhipping which convey'd her ſafe into *France*; great ſearch after her departure there was made for her, but in vain; which ſo incenſed the Souldiers that they burnt down to the ground that poor Cottage where his Majeſty firſt took ſhelter after his Eſcape from *Worceſter*.

She being arrived in *France*, ſends a Letter to the Court, whereupon his Majeſty almoſt overjoyed at her Eſcape who had been the cauſe of his, immediately ſends ſome perſons of quality in Coaches to conduct her

her to *Paris*, whither being near come, himself with the Queen his Mother, the Duke of *York*, *Gloceſter*, went out to meet this Preſerver of the life of their Son, Sovereign and Brother; the Coaches meeting, and ſhe being deſcended from her Coach, his Majeſty likewiſe deſcends, and taking her by the hand ſalutes her with this grateſull expreſſion, *Welcome my life*, and ſo putting her into his own Coach, conducts her to *Paris*, where ſhe was entertained with the applauſe & wonder of the whole Court: & ſhe could indeed deſerve no leſs; for I believe neither paſt or future ages can or will ever parallell ſo great a pattern of female Loyalty and Generoſity.

Whilſt his Majeſty was thus paſſing away his time in *France*, more in contemplation then action. *Oliver Cromwel* made General of all the *Junto's* forces in *England*, *Scotland*,

and *Ireland*, finding now a fit opportunity to put his long-laid ambitious designs in execution, had dissolved that *Junto* which had usurped the Kingly power or more over *England*, and taken upon himself) though not the title) yet the Royall power & authority over these Nations, which the people, though unwilling, yet were forced to submit to; and though he had not at first any *basis* whereon to ground his new usurped Regality; yet in stead of one *Junto* he pluckt down, he easily sets up another, which I may the more justly call so, in regard there was not one of them chosen by the free Votes of the people, but by his own Arbitray Election, & those such persons who knew well enough what they had to doe before they met: these after a short time of sitting (without doing any thing besides the making of some impertinent laws

laws which were forceably impoſed on the people) ſurrender their power (as dying men do their ſouls to God, into his hands that gave it, who by the help of the Officers of the army, & *Lamberts* inſtrument, makes himſelf immediatly King of *England*, *Scotland* & *Ireland* (which government he had often ſwore againſt) though under the title of Protector.

This (I muſt needs ſay) Noble Tyrant, having got the Dominion of three ſuch Kingdomes into his poſſeſſion, made it now as much his ſtudy to preſerve himſelf ſafe in his Eſtate and *Grandezza*, as he did before to acquire it; to which purpoſe he thought it moſt ſuitable to that deſign, to make ſome remarkable diſturbance amongſt the neighbouring Princes; then to contine that War (begun by the *Junto* of Parliament) with the *Dutch*, to which purpoſe ſeveral motions of a Treaty paſſed.

His ſacred Majeſty, though he had ſundry times before ſolicited the aſſiſtance of thoſe United Provinces for the regaining of his Right in his Kingdomes, now more earneſtly upon ſecret intelligence of the firſt motions of this Treaty, ſends the Lord *Gerard* his Embaſſadour to the United States, more earneſtly intreating them to own his Intereſt then before, proffering, that if they would veſt out a ſquadron of good Ships under his Flag, he would command them himſelf in perſon.

His Siſter, the Princeſs of *Orange* and other of his friends in the Low Countries, addicted to his Intereſt, earneſtly proſecutes his deſires, and uſe their utmoſt influence on the States of the United Provinces for the performance of his propoſitions. Nor are there five of theſe Provinces, nor *Van Trump* himſelf their Admiral unwiling to comply with him.

him. Only the Province of *Holland*, the moſt potent at ſea, ſtands out, chiefly out of the diſguſt they had lately taken to the family of *Orange*, whoſe Intereſt and command they were fearfull, might be reſtored, ſhould his Majeſty, who was Uncle to the young Prince, be inveſted in his Territories.

His Majeſty likewiſe to advance his hopes of their aſſiſtance, when Monſieur *Bortell* came from thoſe United States to negotiate a League with the King of *France*, uſed his utmoſt Intereſt to promote the Treaty, and in fine brought it to a deſired period: notwithſtanding the United States ſent no other anſwer to his Embaſſy then a cold Letter of Complements.

His deſigns thus failing him here, he directed himſelf to a more hopefull courſe, by interpoſing himſelf a Mediator with the *Pope* & other *Catho-*

lick Princes for an accord and peace between the two mighty Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. And indeed two such potent *Monarchs* had been in better capacity with their joynt forces to have assisted him (had the peace went forward, as there was great hopes) then the United States of the *Netherlands*; but Cardinall *Mazarine* by a piece of secret State-policy, endeavoured to obstruct all proceedings which might tend to a Treaty or accord.

Nor was this Cardinal's Spleen to his Royall Majesty yet allayed; for his supposed Council against him in the forementioned difference between the King and Princes; but farther to prejudice him & his affairs, he endeavours the promotion of a peace betwixt the *Protector* of *England* & the *French* King his Master, which, though opposed by all the force & Interest that either himself

or

or the Queen his Mother had in the *French* Court; yet was by the Cardinal (whose will was a law all other government in that Kingdome being but a meer shadow) vigorously carried on, and an Ambassadour sent over to treat of an accord: where having been sometime in *England*, his Majesty was by secret intelligence informed that the chief Article insisted upon in the Treaty (by the *Protector* of *England*) was the excluding himself, relations and followers out of the Kingdome of *France* and it's Territories; wherefore least the treaty should be suddenly concluded upon those terms, and he ceremoniously excluded, he thought it more honourable himself to leave that Kingdome of his own accord; and having taken his leave of the King of *France*, & the rest of the Nobility accompanied with his Cousin Prince *Rupert*, he departed

for *Germany*, where the Lord *Wilmot* had long been Ambaſſador for him to ſolicite aid and aſſiſtance.

Yet notwithſtanding his Brothers the Duke of *York* and *Glaceſter*, ſtaid ſtill in *France*. The firſt having under the Command of the Marſhal of *Turine* againſt the *Spaniards* performed ſuch Eminent ſervices as had made him deſervedly eſteemed a moſt valorous and prudent Prince; inſomuch that notwithſtanding his Youth he was made Lieu. Generall of the *French* Army, and thought ſo well worthy that Command, that when *Turine* (the moſt eſteemed Generall the *French* have for a long time had) lay deſperately ſick, and it was expected that he ſhould breath his laſt; he was by the King of *France* ſent to, to deſire him, that ſeeing there were ſo little hopes of this life, he would nominate ſuch a General of his Army as he might judge fit to

ſucceed

succeed him: To which *Turine* answered, that if his Majesty would have his affairs prosper, he should make choice of a Noble, valorous, and fortunate Generall; which if he did, he could make of choice of no fitter person then the thrice Heroick Duke of *York*.

As for his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, he remained at the Pallace Royall in *Paris* with the Queen his Mother; who shortly after the Departure of his Royall Majesty, endeavoured by all the bonds of filial obedience and the most prevailing Arguments could be used, to perswade him to become Roman Catholick: (not did she alone) but the Queen Mother of *France*, and the prime Nobility of that Kingdom, attempted the same: when the Rhetorique of the Court could not prevail, the most eminent for learning set upon him, with that depth of reason, as long acquired study and their own interest, could oblige them to use, or furnish them withall: nor were Arguments and Reasons only used, but the highest temptations this world could present, to a Prince in Adversity; such were a Cardinals Hat, and a Revenue suitable to his Dignity: when

when these could not prevail, the indignation of a Royall Mother was poured forth upon him, which brought him the deprivation of his Tutor, his Servants, and all Comforters in these temptations: But that Noble Prince was so far indowed (during this affliction) with the Principles of the Religion of the Church of *England*, besides that naturall piety and constancy, flowing from his most religious Father of blessed Memory, that by the depth of Truth and Reason, he defended himself against these attempts. After this he is committed to the care of one Mr. *Walter Mountague* Abbot of *Nantuell*, living at *Pontoise*, who keeps him in very closely, and works, and persists still in endeavouring to pervert him, using the Argument of Duty and obedience to his Mothers commands, which she did injoyn him to doe, or never more to see her face, (which from that day to this he hath not seen.) This Noble soul replyed with a sorrowful heart, *That as the Queens Majesty was his Mother, he ought her duty; but as his Brother was his King and Sovereign, he ought him Duty and Allegiance, which he could not dispute.* Whilst he is at *Pontoise* the most

most noble and religious Lord *H*[illegible] takes occasion to go wait upon the *Duke*, according to private instructions received from his Majesty (who to his great sorrow had advised of these particulars) he is admitted with much trouble to the presence of the *Duke*, who imbraced him as his Deliverer, & with some difficulty, urging the commands of his Majesty, and his own arguments; he is delivered to his care, who conducts him with a speciall respect and diligence to his house in *Paris*, where he is entertained divers daies with all honour, & confirmed with all diligence, by that learned Lord, in his so well imbued Principles, untill the arrivall of the Marquesse of *Ormond*, who by the Kings Command, receives, and conducts him to his Majesties Court.

His Majesty in his journy towards *Germany* came first to *Chatillon* a Castle belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, whither he was accompanied by his Brother the Duke of *York*, and his Cousins Prince *Rupert* and *Edward* Palatines; here Prince *Edward* and the Duke of *York* left them; the one going to *Bourbon*, the other

other returning to the Army: (where he continued a good while after) his Majesty and Prince *Rupert* continued for some few daies their journy together, 'till the Prince parted from him to go visit his Brother *Frederick* at *Hidelberg*; his Majesty passing through *Cambray* and *Leige* to the *Spaw*; where he took up the first place of his Residence in *Germany*, whither his Sister the Royall Princess of *Orange* came to visit him; and they no doubt during the time of their being there, were as merry as two such afflicted Princes could.

But let us a little leave his Majesty at the *Spaw* and look into his Kingdomes, where *Cromwell* that he might secure himself, in his ill-gotten Estate, endeavours by all means possible either to take away the lives or wholly impoverish and disable his Majesties loyal Subjects; who are continually charged with something, which he by his usurped power takes hold of to destroy them: several persons are apprehended and charged with a design to have seized on the Tower, and proclaimed his Majesty King of those Kingdoms which by right were his: for tryall of

which

which persons, a High Court of Justice, (a thing we now in *England* know very well) was erected for the tryall of those persons, and Col. *John Gerard*, Mr. *Peter Vowel*, and *Sommerset Fox* were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: (for no lesse then High Treason forsooth, though there were then no Act in being making it Treason to conspire against the Power then in being in *England*) But somewhat of the sentence was remitted, and Col. *Gerard* was beheaded, and Mr. *Vowel* only hanged, Mr. *Fox* reprieved.

I have always observed that in all the tryals made by those High courts of Justice for plots (as they call them) there hath still been some one person, who though brought to tryall, have either not been condemned though look't upon by the people as eminent in the businesse as any) and

and though Condemned, yet have been reprieved; what others gueſſe of it, I will not determine; I know what I do.

The truth is, that his Majeſty had alwaies the ill fortune to have ſuch falſe ſervants about him as have for the Lucre of money either betrayed any enterprize of his for the gaining of his right, (the *Protector* eſpecially being very prodigal in ſuch expences: his intelligence as moſt affirm, ſtanding him in no leſs then two hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*) or elſe thoſe perſons engaged for him, being many of them deboiſt fellows, (and who often ran upon deſignes uncommiſſioned) have in a Tavern both layd and betrai'd their own undertakings; or elſe ſome here in *England*, who have undertaken in ſuch buſineſſes, have either for fear or gain betrayed both their Prince, friends and Countrey.

Thus

Thus much for *England*; let us now take a view of his Majesties affairs in *Scotland*; which Kingdome was not yet wholly conquered, for the Lords *Seaforth*, *Atholl*, *Glencarne*, *Kenmore*, and *Glengary*, and several others who had some of them been formerly followers of the Noble Marquesse of *Montrosse*, by Commissions to the Earle of *Glencarne* had levied sundry small parties in their several Territories; which all joyned, would have made up a considerable Army, besides the help which they expected *Middleton* should bring them out of the Low-Countries, they therefore made all possible speed to joyn; but in their march the Earl of *Glencarne* is set upon by Col. *Morgan*, his party routed, himself hardly escaping.

This defeat of *Glencarn*'s who was the chief, though it discouraged the rest, yet made them not wholly desist;

deſiſt; for they had yet hopes of thoſe ſupplies which they expected *Middleton* to bring out of the Low Countries, who at length arrives & brings with him *Monroe* to be his Lieu. General, he being Commiſſionated General; which highly diſpleaſed *Glencarne*, who had been the greateſt inſtrument of his Armies raiſing (which was now joyn'd and made up a Conſiderable body) who proteſted that he would not raiſe an Army for others to Command, ſo high a diſpute there was between *Glencarne* and *Monroe*; inſomuch that many affirm, though ſome ſay the contrary, that it came to a Duell, in which *Monroe* was worſted and diſarmed by *Glencarne*; however the diſſention ſtill continues, for *Middleton* pretended that he had not power to take away *Monro*'s Commiſſion which was given him by his Majeſty, & *Genclarn* ſcorning

ſcorning to be under him, being of Nobler blood, and accounting himſelf as good a Souldier, deſerts the Army with five hundred Horſe in his company, & goes in to General *Monck*, with whom he makes his Compoſition.

Yet notwithſtanding his deſertion (cauſed by thoſe differences amongſt themſelves for ſuperiority, the only way to ruine any deſigne) *Middleton* purſues his buſineſſe and Commiſſion, and had made up a pretty conſiderable Number, when Generall *Monck* engaging him at *Longherry* after a hot diſpute totally routed him, ſcattered his party, and had almoſt taken himſelf Priſoner, but he eſcaping returned again into *Holland*.

Thus his Majeſties ill fortune ſtill attends his affairs, God ſtill permitting his Enemies to taper up in the World & advance themſelves, not that

that he in the want of us, but that we in the want of so Noble a Prince, might be yet farther Miserable.

But let us return again to his Majesty at the *Spaw*, where he having staid a while, courted by all the adjacent Grandees, at length takes his journey in company of the Princesse Royall his Sister towards *Colen*, where being arrived, they were received with all possible honour and demonstrations of joy and affection, the great Guns discharging at their entrance, and the Deputies of the City coming out to meet them in solemn manner, & conducting them in great pomp to the pallace provided for them by the chief Magistrate of the City.

Shortly after their Arrival, the Grandees of the place entertained his Majesty and his Royal Sister at a sumptuous Banquet or Collation, where they expresse in many ceremonious

monious complements, the high resentment they had of his Majesties condition, and the great honour which he did them, in being pleased to come and visit their City.

After a short time of abode here his Majesty was envited by the Duke of *Newburgh* to his Pallace at *Dunsell-dorf*, where he & his Sister were most sumptuously and Royally entertained for some daies; and here the Royall Princesse took her leave of her Brother his sacred Majesty, and returned for *Holland*, the King accompanying her on her way as far as *Red nguen*, and from thence returned back again to *Colen*, where he was joytully received.

And now more of his Majesties loyal subjects are put to the wrack in *England* by tyrannizing *Cromwell*; a general design must needs be laid over all *England*, and perhaps might be so, though *Cromwell* knew it well enough

enough before it was like to take any effect, which appeared by his setling the *London Militia* in the hands of his own *Criade's*, his apprehending of Sir *Henry Littleton*, Sir *John Packington*, and many other of the Royall party; yet he lets it still go on, that he might have the better colour for keeping his Scaffold in ure, whilst he having certain intelligence of all proceedings from his hired Agents, had care to prevent them when they just came to the height, that he might then lay the surer hold on the undertakers: so now, though he was sure to prevent all risings which might be near *London*, yet he lets others in the Countries more remote to go on so farre, as they might only raise to a head, but not have any secure place of strength to retreat to, in case of a defeat, where they might again have made a head. The surprizal of

Shrews-

Shrewsbury and *Chirke* Caſtles are to that effect now prevented. But a party in *Dorſet* & *Wiltſhires* made a body, conſiſting moſt of Gentlemen, who ſurprized *Salisbury*, took away all the Horſes, and Marched towards *Cornwall*, where they expected a greater force to riſe with them; but being eagerly purſued by Captain *Crook* with a party of Horſe, were overtaken at *Southmolton* in *Devonſhire*, and after a hot diſpute, moſt of them either ſlain or taken; but Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, the chief Commander of this ſmall loyal party eſcaped. The Captains, *Penruddock*, *Grove* and *Jones* were taken, & afterwards being tried by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, were condemned to death: Captain *Jones* was reprieved, but *Grove* and *Penruddock* were beheaded at *Exceter*, The laſt of which parted nobly with his life, and died with a reſolution,

worthy

worthy of the cauſe for which he ſuffered. Many others likewiſe were hanged for this enterrize

Yet theſe and their fellows might have come off better, had other Counties as they promiſed, riſen to their aſſiſtance; for all the Countries in *England* had deſigned (as they ſay to riſe; but whether beſotted, dull'd and fearful, or elſe prevented by a force upon them, I cannot tell; but ſure I am they fail'd. Yet in *York ſhire* there were two parties up in ſeveral places, but diſſipated by their own fears, at *Hexam* Moor the Gentry in that ſhire had a Rendezvouz, of whom Sir *Hen. Slingsby* was taken, & remained priſoner in *Hull*, till ſuch time as he was brought up to *London*, where he ſuffered death under pretence of another deſign; as ſhall in due time be declared.

But now the Protector finds another courſe to rid himſelf of all ſuch

Engliſh

Engliſh men as were Loyal to their King and Countrey. Several of thoſe who were active in the late deſign and had been taken, are out of the Priſons hurried aboard Ships; and though they were free-born *Engliſh* men, and many of them Gentlemen, ſent to be ſlaves in the Foreign Plantations; nor were they alone ſerved ſo, but many who though they had not actually ſtirr'd, yet being by the Protector known as perſons not very well affected to his Tyrannical Government, were privately taken out of their houſes and ſhipt away in like manner; it not being enough for him when he had impoveriſhed them by taking away their Eſtates to look upon, and inſult on their miſery at home, but to make them as much as in him lay the ſcorn and deriſion of the World by ſelling them to thoſe Plantations, a puniſhment uſually inflicted on

none but thives and vagabonds. Yet I hope those Noble soules who were thus dealt withall, account those miseries and hardships they have endured but little in respect of the cause for which they suffered them.

But to return to our Princes abroad. The Duke of *Glocester* in his journy from *Paris* with the Marquess of *Ormand* touched at the *Hague*, where he found his *Sister* newly returned from her journey with his Majesty; and having staid with her some time there, she accompanied him to visit their Brother the King again at *Colen*, with whom she staid till after the Fair at *Franckford*, whither his Majesty accompanied with his Royal Sister, the Duke of *Glocester*, the Marquesse of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Newburg*, and several Ladies and persons of Quality went in progresse; part of the

the way they went by Land, and the other part by water; being complemented in all Princes Countries through which they passed, by their chief Ministers of State, and saluted with the great Guns from their Towns and Castles: but particularly being come into the Territories of the Elector of *Mentz* they were saluted by his grand Marshal, who in the name of his Master the Elector, invited his Majesty, the Princesse Royal, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* to his Court; but in regard that the intent of their progress was to see that renowned Faire at *Franckfort* which now drew nigh, his Majesty sent the Lord *Newburgh* back with the grand Marshal, returning thankes to the Elector for his civilities; but desiring to be excused till their return, when his Majesty with his Royal Sister and Brother would not faile to come and

give him thanks in perſon, and ſo his *Ma*jeſty with his Noble company continued their *j*ourney.

Being arrived at *Franckford*, advice wasbrought to his *Ma*jeſty that the Queen of *Swethland* (who had ſome time before voluntarily ſurrendred her Kingdom into the hands of *Carolus Guſtavus* her Kinſman) was paſſing that way in her intended Journey for *Italy*, whereupon his Majeſty ſent a Noble Lord to acquaint her Royal Highneſſe the Queen *Chriſtina*, that he was ready to wait npon her at what place ſoever ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to appoint for an interview; her *Ma*jeſty received the meſſage with a great deal of affection, telling the *Me*ſſenger That ſhe was highly obliged to his Majeſty of *England* for ſo great an honour, and that if he pleaſed, ſhe would not fail to meet him at *Conningſtein* a villiage not farre from

Franck-

Franckford, where his Majesty for the time resided.

And accordingly there these two Potentates, (both equally deprived of their Kingdomes, onely with this distinction, the one voluntary, the other by force and Tyranny) met; The Queen of *Sweden* being there first attended his Majesty: & he being come was immediately admitted, in a room there purposely provided; and having had neer half an hours private discourse with her, the Duke of *Glocester* was admitted, and presently after the Lords that attended his Majesty; there passing between their two Majesties many ceremonious complements; and so after a little longer discourse they took their leaves. The Princess Royal being a little indisposed went not to this interview.

His Majesty having tarried at *Franckford* as long as seem'd con-

venient to that Royal Company in his departure thence according to the promiſe he had before made by the Lord *Newburgh*; paſſed through the Elector of *Mentz* his Conntrey, reſolving to give him a viſit, but that Noble Prince had ſo much of honour in him that he met his Majeſty a great part of the way, and conducted him with his Royal Company to a Pallace of his, where he ſumptuouſly entertained them for three or four dayes; and then himſelf in perſon accompanied them a good part of their way to *Colen*, from whence ſhortly after his Majeſties arrival there the Princeſs Royal departed for *Holland*.

In the mean the Protector of *England* having a good while before made a peace with the *Hollander*, fearing that the Nation ſhould grow rebellious to him, if they lay free from Warres, which would fill their

their purſes; reſolues to keep them low, and at diet; to which effect he begins a war with *Spain* at firſt in his Weſtern Territories, but ſoon after (that buſineſſe not ſucceeding) in his *European* quartars, which made *Mazarine* with all haſt poſſible endeavour the concluding the League Offenſive and Defenſive with the Protector, which being by him conſidered to be as benificial for his own intereſt as for the *French*, was eaſily and willingly aſſented to; but the chief Article of this Peace was that his Majeſty, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* with all their relations and friends ſhould be expelled out of, and no more admitted into the Kingdome of *France*.

Certainly had the *French* King had but the leaſt touch or ſenſe of honour, he would have counted this the hardeſt condition in the World, or indeed he would never

at all have treated with the Protector, but that he should yield to such a condition, as to banish out of his Kingdome those who came to him for succour and relief in the utmost extremity that ever Princes were put to, and these too his neareſt relations, being Brothers and Sisters children: And this to make a league offensive with him who had murdered their Father, and expelled them out of their Dominions. What was this? but the owning of that murder, and aggravating their oppressions instead of relieving them. But neither honour nor relation can stand in competition with self Interest.

His Majesty had before fore-saw what the event of this treaty would be, and had therefore wisely withdrawn himself from *France* to prevent a complemental Expulsion. But the Duke of *York*, who in regard

of

of the great command which he had in the Army, had ſtai'd there till the concluſion of the League, was now warned to depart with all his retinue (conſiſting of a gallant number of young *Engliſh* gentlemen bred up under his valour and conduct) notwithſtanding thoſe many great ſervices which he had performed for that Kingdom, in requital of which he had only a complemental Apology made him for the neceſſity of his departure, & a ſmall time reſpited for his ſtay, during which he was viſited by the Duke of *Modena* then, in *France*, and other *French* Grandees; but more eſpecially by the Marſhal of *Turine*, who extreamly loved him and above all others expreſſed a ſorrow for his diſmiſſement; but at length the day perfixed being come, his Grace having ſolemnly taken his leave of the King of *France*, the Queen his Mother, and the reſt of

his friends at the *French* Court, he takes his journey towards *Flanders*, accompanied by the Earle of *Yarmouth*, and severall other *English* Lords.

For upon the rupture of the peace between *Oliver Cromwell* and the King of *Spain*, *Don Iohn de Austria*, Governour Royall of the Low Countries, for his Catholick Majesty (commiserating our Kings unfortunate Condition, now that his Interest might stand them in some stead,) had sent the Count *De Fuensaldagne*, his Ambassadour to his Majesty of Great *Brittain*, then resident (as I said before) at *Colen*, inviting him into the Low Countries, and assuring him in the name of his Catholick Majesty all possible service and assistance: which invitation his Majesty graciously accepted, and soon after took his journey from *Colen* towards *Flanders*, and being come

come to *Bruges*, the place appointed for his reception, he was received with all honour imaginable, and conducted to a Pallace purposely provided for him, where he hath for the most part ever since remained.

Hither the Duke of *York* came accompanied as aforesaid, having first in his way touched at *Brussels*, where he was magnificently entertained, and complemented by *Don Iohn*, to whom he freely proffered his service in the Wars, which was accepted with a great deal of thanks; & though he had not at first a command given him correspondent to that which he left in the *French* Army, yet was his prudence, courage, valour, and conduct in no lesse respect, as afterwards by the *Spaniards* esteem of him appeared. From thence he went to wait on his Majesty at *Bruges*, where he was received

ceived with an affection correſpondent to the near alliance with his ſacred Majeſty.

Before his Majeſtie's departure from *Colen*, there happened a diſcovery of one of thoſe perſons, who under pretence of waiting upon him, Captain *Manning* by name) diſcovered unto the Protector all his Deſignes and Counſels, who being found out was by his Majeſties Command ſent to a ſtrong Caſtle adjacent to *Colen*, there to be kept cloſe priſoner. But all the Court being highly incenſed againſt him for his perfidiouſneſſe, one of his Majeſties Servants (though contrary to order) piſtol'd him as he was lighting out of the Coach at the Caſtle gate, giving him leſſe then the due regard of his ſo abominable treachery.

The Duke of *York* being arrived (as I ſaid) at *Bruges*, was highly carreſſed

reſſed by all the perſons of quality there reſident; and his Majeſty, (who notwithſtanding *Cromwell's* earneſt endeavours, either to diſpatch, diſable, or make ſlaves of his loyal ſubjects, had nevertheleſs ſome true friends in *England*, who were ſtill ready to venture lives & eſtates for his ſo juſt cauſe) had got together a conſiderable number of ſuch *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, whoſe Loyalty had baniſhed them from their habitations, and who were ready at all occaſions to aſſiſt both his Majeſty and themſelves for the recovery of his and their juſt rights and eſtates; but the continual advice which *Cromwell* alwaies had from thoſe treacherous perſons which he maintained about his Majeſty, made all enterprizes tending to the regaining of his Kingdoms, and redeeming of his ſubjects liberty ineffectual.

This Army which his Majeſty had quar-

quartered near the ſea ſide to be ready on all occaſions for tranſport, was afterwards (ſince there was no apparent hopes that his Majeſty might make any ſucceſsfull uſe of them) imployed in the ſervice of the King of *Spain*.

For his Majeſty of *Spain* had then great need of men in *Flanders*, the *Engliſh* Protector having according to articles agreed upon between him & the *French* King, ſent over ſix thouſand foot for his aſſiſtance in his wars againſt *Flanders*, in conſideration of which help the *Engliſh* were to have *Dunkirk*, which was agreed on to be beleaguer'd by the joynt-forces of *France* and *England*.

Whilſt in the mean time the Protector *Cromwell* is by a parcel of a Parliament, of which Sir *Thomas Withrington* was Speaker, inveſted with his power, and inſtalled in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and now he conferres

ferres those dignities which were formerly the Kingly rewards of loyalty, upon his co-partners and followers, and whether in mockery of that Government which he had so violently endeavoured to abolish, or out of a perjured intention to settle it in himself, which he swore not to endure in another, he established a Pageant House of Lords, who though then made to rule & domineer over the Nation, yet were formerly most of them persons not fit to be servants to some mean Mechanicks: this was that Government which he had so solemly sworn against; but when men have once forgot their Loyalty to their Soveraign, what vices will they not run into.

But to return again to *Flanders*. The *English* and *French* Armies had according to the articles concluded on betwixt them beleaguer'd *Dunkirk*,

kirk which *Don Iohn* knowing to be a place of great importance, and an inlet into *Flanders* by ſea for *Engliſh* Forces, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to raiſe the ſieges; to which effect he levied what Forces he could, either by his own or his Majeſties influence, & having made up a conſiderable Army himſelf in perſon, accompanied by the *Engliſh* Dukes of *York* & *Glocester*, together with thoſe forces formerly addicted to his Majeſties ſervice, advanced towards the joyntforce of the *French* & *Engliſh* then beleaguering the Town, who underſtanding by their ſcouts of his approach, left ſuch Forces in the leagure as might ſecure them within from a ſally; and drew up towards *Don Iohn*, who had encamped near *Fuernes*: the *French* and *Engliſh* were (notwithſtanding thoſe forces they had left in the trenches) much more numerous then the *Spaniards* both

both in horſe and foot, which made them the more reſolved in the Encounter; for though the others came to raiſe the ſiege, yet the beſieger were the firſt aſſaulters.

The firſt bruſh began with a forlorn hope of *Engliſh* infantry, conſiſting of above three hundred, who deſperately charged upon a party of the *Spaniſh* foot (which had advantageouſly drawn themſelves upon a riſing ground, and ſeconded by *Lockart*'s Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonell *Fenwick*, and ſome other additional ſupplies of *Engliſh* Infantry, routed not only them, but the other bodies of *Spaniſh* foot drawn up on the ſame manner. In this charge Lieutenout Colonel *Fenwick* received his morrall wound, and ſome other *Engliſh* Commanders were ſlain outright.

The *Spaniſh* Cavalry ſeeing their foot

foot so easily put to a rout, began likewise to flie, nor could by any endeavours be perswaded to stand; whereupon the *French* Horse who had all that while stood still, and seen the *English* do execution on the Enemies foot, with a full career pursue their flying Enemies, of whom they found little opposition, but only what was made by the thrice valiant Duke of *York*'s Regiment, who for a time made the whole *French* Army to stand, & saved the lives of many of their flying friends, which else had been sacrificed to the Enemies fury, whilst in the mean time they dedicated their own lives or persons to their safeties.

For after they had made a very noble and gallant resistance, overpowred by numbers, and having no supplies to refresh their wearied bodies, they were forced to yeild to their Enemies numbers, or trust to the

the swiftnesse of their horses heels; but very few of them escaped, among which were the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, though the first was not heard of till three daies after, which made some suspect that he was taken by the *French* Forces, but by *Turine* after at a fit opportunity nobly releast.

I may particularly take occasion here to commend the valour of the Duke of *York*'s own Troop, who indeed bore the brunt of the whole Battel, though I cannot deny but they were seconded by some very Noble Spirits of the *Spaniards*; but the personal valour of Mr. *Henry Bendish* son to Sir *Thomas Bendish* Ambassadour for the *English* Nation in *Turky* (who had the ill fortune to be taken prisoner) must not be forgotten.

Let us now change the Scene a little to *England*, where the Protector

ctor begins to die the Scaffold in as deep a purple as the Veſt given him at his late Inſtalement bore; and that not onely with the bloud of thoſe ſecularsthat were loyal to their Soveraign, but having as he thought now ſecured to himſelf the Government, his hand reaches to the ſacred Clergy, nor will he ſtrike at a reed or a ſhrub amongſt them, but imitating the Ancient fable of the *Iupitrian* Thunder, ſtrikes at the *Olympus*, the *Atlas*, the maineſt pillar and ſupport of the Proteſtant Religion; for no leſſe then the Reverend Doctor *Hewet's* blood will now ſatisfie his inſatiate Cruelty; a man whoſe vertues and piety as they were beyond expreſſion, ſo I think was the manner of his death beyond example.

This Doctor & Sir *Henry Slingsby* (who had ever ſince the forementioned riſing in *Yorkſhire* layn priſoner in

in *Hull* Caſtle) with many others are accuſed of a deſign to have ſeized on the Tower of *London* and the Magazine at *Hull* both in one day, the one by a Divine, the other by a Priſoner; but theſe perſons muſt have ſeveral others to be their aſſiſtants, and that eſpecially in *London*, who while the Doctor was ſecuring the Tower, muſt fire the City of *London* in ſeveral places.

Thoſe that make plots may as eaſily diſcover them, and with as much eaſe prevent them; the Protector could do both: but to make ſome ſhew of a great deel of fear in the buſineſſe; Worthy Alderman *Tichburn* then Lord *Mayor* of *London* is immediately commanded to ſettle the *Militia*, the Protector telling him (as he eaſily might) that there was a grand deſign in hand (probably of his own contriving) againſt his Government, that the *Mar*

queſs

queſs of *Ormond* had lately been in *England* tranſacting about it; that the Common Enemy (for ſo was his ſacred Majeſty then ſtyled) lay ready with a potent Army, & ſhips hired to tranſport them on the Sea coaſts of *England*, and that therefore the *Militia* ſhould be ſettled in confiding hands, meaning ſuch either whoſe intereſt or fear muſt render them faithful to the Protector; ſhortly after, according to the common courſe, the perſons to be accuſed are apprehended, the chief of which were Dr. *Hewet*, Mr. *John Mordant* brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, Col. *Aſhton*, Capt. *Henry Mallory*, Mr. *Woodcock*, *John Betteley*, *Edmund Stacy*, *Henry Fryer*, *John Sumner*, and *Oliver Allen*; who were all accuſed to be complices of this grand deſign.

And becauſe no *Engliſh* Law could take away theſe mens Lives,

the

The ordinary Tyrannical way of a High Court of Justice must do it; Sir *Henry Slingsby* (who was brought prisoner from *Hull* Castle) was the first who came before them, and is accused for having endeavoured to draw the Governor of that Castle from his Allegience (*excellently good!*) to the Protector, and pleading not guilty, yet was by two Witnesses found ready, convicted and condemned.

Dr. *Hewet* being come before them (according to the example of his Royal Master King *Charles* the first) refused to plead or own the Jurisdiction of the Court, for which contempt (as they were pleased to interpret it) he had the same sentence pronounced against him, and was afterwards together with Sir *Henry Slingsby* executed on Tower-hill.

Mr. *Mordant* brother to the Earl of

of *Peterborough* diſavowed likewiſe the Authority of the Court; but at laſt being induced to plead, was acquitted, ſo was Mr. *Woodcock*, *Mallory*, *Fryer*, *Sumner*, and *Allen* were ſentenced but reprieved; *Aſhton*, *Stacy*, and *Bettely* were hanged, drawn and quartered in ſeveral places of *London*.

And here we muſt not forget the magnanimous death of *John Betteley*, who having made a Speech, clearing his Innocency and the juſtneſs of his Cauſe, undauntedly leapt off the Ladder, and died a worthy ſufferer for the Royal Intereſt.

His ſacred Majeſty (during theſe ſtrange Murders and oppreſſions of his Subjects in *England* by a power which had uſurpt the Regality) is forced to ſit ſtill; his urgent neceſſities not giving him leave either to revenge their deaths or redeem the ſurviving, who heavily groaned under

der the yoke, his onely remedy now was his prayers to God (which he purſues with an earneſt devotion) that he would be pleas'd in his good time to deliver his faithful Subjects from thoſe miſeries and burdens they then ſtruggled under, and without doubt God hath heard, and will perform his pious deſires.

As an introduction to which it pleaſed the DIVINE MAJESTY to take out of this world the grandeſt oppoſer of his Majeſty's Right, OLIVER CROMWELL, who from a mean beginning had raiſed himſelf by force to be the arbitrary Governour of theſe Nations, is by the Almighty called to give an account of his actions before the High Tribunal of Heaven, where are neither falſe witneſſes nor intereſſed Judges, and that on the ſame day on which he had gained two ſuch ſignall victories over his

Majeſtie's forces at *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*, *viz.* on the third day of *September*.

Yet he thought he had ſo certainly ſecured the Government of theſe three Nations for himſelf, and that he nominates his ſon *Richard* for his Succeſſour, a perſon, to ſpeak the truth, as not at all endowed with his fathers courage, ſo not at all inclined to his ambition: one, whom if fame lies not of him, could have willingly been content to have ſurrendred his Protectorſhip to the Kingſhip of the lawfull heir, and (by law) undoubted Succeſſour.

But thoſe Officers of the Army, whoſe ambition, though not in ſo high a degree, had ſo engaged them as Complices to *Oliver Cromwell* in his high late deſignes againſt his King and Countrey, had ſo great a load of guilt upon their conſciences, that they could not hear of,

much

much leſs agree to the admiſſion of his ſacred Majeſty.

Nor was it indeed only thus, but ſome ambitious ſpirits there were, and particularly Maj. Ceneral *Lambert*, whoſe high-flown thoughts made him fancy Idea's in his brain, and forc't him to attempt the enterprifing to make him Commander of theſe three Nations, as *Oliver* (by his means) had done before, which deſignes of his in the ſequell, ruin'd him, and diſcovered thoſe grand cheates and abuſes which that party had put upon the Nation, endeavouring to enſlave them to their own arbitrary power, whilſt they pretended thoſe ſtrangely taken names of Religion and Liberty as hereafter will appear.

And theſe paſſages I ſhall the more fully inſert, as tending ſo much to his Majeſties Intereſt here, & to the undeceiving of his good ſubjects,

who are not blinded with Interest which the Usurpers had endeavoured to make the most potent men in the Nation, *i.e.* such as had the greatest sums of money, by selling such cheap pennyworths of the Kings, Queens, Bishops, Deans and Chapters lands, which together with the purchases of the Estates of such loyall subjects to his Majesty, as those in power were pleased to stile Delinquents, had near infatuated a good part of the Nation.

But to proceed, let us now begin with these distractions. 'Tis an old Proverb in *English*, *When thieves fall out, then honest men come by their Goods*: may it now prove as true as old, which (God be praised) we have some reason to hope.

Oliver Cromwell, the greatest, though most heroick enemy of his King and Countrey being dead, his son *Richard* was proclaimed Protector,

dor, and for ſome times ſeemingly complyed with; but *Lambert*'s ambition which had long lain hid, begins now to appear, and ſomething he whiſpers into the ears of the Army, which mixt with the great love they had formerly for him, eaſily creates a diſlike of *Richard*'s Government, which afterwards grows to ſuch a height, that by a joynt-Conſpiracy the Protectorſhip is diſjoynted, and *Richard* deprived of his Government, the taking away of which he as willingly conſents to, as they are ready to deprive him of it.

This was the firſt jarring which this Generation had amongſt themſelves, which notwithſtanding was compoſed by the Protector's eaſie conſent, without the ſhedding of one drop of blood. But there yet remained to his Depoſers the greateſt task, ſince they were ſufficiently ſenſible that though they had pull'd

down one civil Government, they must be inforc't (though never so unwillingly) to set up another.

For they very well knew, that they had already so much gull'd the Nation, that they could not but now be sensible of their many abuses; yet they fly to their old pretences of Religion and Liberty, and under that pretence (since they must at least establish the face of a civill Government, they call again (Resolving to have one like themselves) that *Junto* which was formerly dissolved by *Oliver*, *those that murdered their King, and had for some years enslaved their Native Countrey*.

Yet I cannot tell whether it were their inclinations in the Generall, or *Lambert's* particular perswasions, which called these men even out of the grave of infamy to sit again in the House, and rule as Lords *Paramount* over these Nations, though I have

have a great deal of reason to believe it was the latter, since *Lambert*'s ambition, might rather prompt him to begin with those men, and con over an old one, experimentally taught him by his old Master *Oliver*, then hazard the venture of a new lesson.

But this *Junto* being thus recall'd to their seats in the House, and the exercise of their former Arbitrary power and authority by their *Quondam* servants of the Army, accept of the invitation; and accordingly met in the Parliament House, whether likewise there assembled several of those Members which had formerly been secluded and debar'd sitting in 1648. These demand now an equall right with the others, either to Consult or Vote; but as they had been formerly violently thrust out: so they are now forceably kept out by the Officers of the Army.

This causes another as great di-

ſtraction of their affairs. For theſe ſecluded Members do not only diſpute their right by Law and Reaſon (which could nothing prevail with ſword-men) but Sir *George Booth* and ſome others levy Armes now more truly in defence of Parliamentary priviledges then thoſe raiſed in 1642.

This ſmall Army rtiſed in *Cheſhire*, gave *Lambert* as fair an opportunity to put in execution his ambitious deſignes, as poſſibly could be; for he being ſent with the greateſt force of the Army againſt Sir *George* eaſily overcomes him, takes him priſoner, and retakes thoſe Holds which he had poſſeſt himſelf of, and ſo returns victorious.

This fortunate ſucceſſe revived his antient credit with the Army, and now he begins to practiſe the ruin of thoſe which he had ſo lately ſet up, that he might give full ſcope

to

to his own Ambition. They found out his designes, but yet not being able to hinder them, are forced shortly after to submit to a dissolution.

Thus was this Nation hurried into changes of Government, and Anarchicall confusions, by persons who endeavoured only to promote their own ends and self-interest; yet by these strange endeavours of their own, they only lost themselves, for the people, beginning now to discover their juggles, do as much detest them; and though they might for the present force the people to a submission by sword-law; yet could no Government whatsoever, by them established, be firm or durable, since it must be settled contrary to the *Genius* of the people.

For even those who were formerly such strong enemies and opposers of Monarchy or Kingly Government, undeceived by those many

deluſions which they ſee put upon the Nation (by thoſe who pretended ſo much to Religion and Liberty, and the ſettling of a Free State or Commonwealth, whilſt they intended onely their own ends) are now as much affected as they were formerly diſaffected with Monarchicall Government, finding that thoſe who adventure to change a ſettled Government before they have determined of another in its ſtead, run into fancies and *Chymera's*, and vainly endeavour to build caſtles in the air. but to proceed.

This party being thus divided among themſelves, there were great hopes, and certainly, greater wiſhes that that power wherewith they had for ſome years paſt, arbitrarily governed the Nation by turns, might at lenght come to a period, which by the eye of reaſon was now in greater proability then ever, they

by

by their inteſtine diviſions running headlong to their own ruine.

Fleetwood, *Lambert*, and the reſt of the Officers of the Army, have now the ſole Authority, and having the longeſt ſword, make their wills a law; yet ſomewhat to ſatisfie the people, and to make at leaſt the face of a civil government, they ſet up a new kind of a thing which they compoſed of themſelves, and ſome other choice perſons which they call a *Committee of Safety*, and to theſe they give full Authority over theſe three Nations, without ever asking the peoples conſent.

This Government is far more the ſcorn and deriſion of the people, then the other, yet notwithſtanding their ſpirits are by conſtant uſe ſo ſubjected to ſlavery, that their aſſinine backs are foreed to endure this as well as other more intolerable burthens, they not daring all this while

to

to adventure the regaining of their Liberties, nor indeed do other then by their tongues expreſſe their hate and anger.

But all this while thoſe diviſions of theirs, and the peoples being wearry of them, and extremely for his Majeſtie's intereſt, it being a rule in Politicks, that the peoples hatred to an Uſurper doth alwayes produce their love to a lawfull Prince, nor had they before, 'till deluded by thoſe Tyrannizers any time to conſider the miſeries of their lawful Soveraign, which now they begin to compaſſionate, and ſeeing him the only perſon whom theſe men endevour by all means poſſible to keep down, hatred to their tyrannies, makes the people naturally deſire his reſtauration, and him whom before they thought juſtly expulſed, they think it both Juſtice and Charityto reinſtate, as much conſidering

it

it to be their own as his intereſt, experience having taught them the difference between the Government by one gentle Prince, and many Ruſticks.

Thus far did theſe mens diviſions inveſt his ſacred Majeſty with the love of his people, who in the mean time lives retiredly at *Bruges*, expecting either what the good will of his ſubjects might do for the reſtoring him to his Right, or what the ſucceſſe might be of that Treaty which was then (the grand action of *Europe*) in agitation between thoſe two potent Monarchs *France* and *Spain*, from whoſe joynt-forces he might expect ſo great a ſupply as might have reinſtated him in his Dominions by force, a courſe moſt of all oppoſite to his Majeſtie's nature, who even in private things never attempts any thing by violence, which he can obtain by intreaty.

Yet

Yet great hopes had the Royalists both in *England* & abroad, that this Treaty would produce some good effects; yet it went on very slowly, and after a great deal of tediousness came to a cessation, and from that to an interview between the two grand Officers of State, *Don Lewis de Haro*, Count *De Olivares*, chief favourite to his Catholick Majesty, & Cardinall *Mazarine*, chief Minister of State to the most Christian King; these being met upon the Frontier, his sacred Majesty of great *Brittain*, was invited thither by *Don Lewis de Haro*.

His Majesty received this invitation at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whither he had privately withdrawn himself (as likewise had his Brother the Duke of *York* to *Calice*) that they might be in a readinesse to have come over into *England*, upon any fit opportunity, they having received many

many invitations from their friends here, about that time when Sir *George Booth* was up in *Cheshire*, & all *England* in a manner gaping for him. But Sir *George* being (as I said before) overcome, his Majesti's and the whole Nations hopes fail'd, and the fanatick power still continued *Paramount*.

His Majesty therefore from *Deipe* begins his journey towards the frontiers of *Spain*, which journey he intended to make privately, and being first come to *Roan*, he was there nobly entertained and feasted by Mr. *Scot*, an *English* Merchant, who accompanied his Majesty to the Protestant Church, about three miles from the City, where with a great deal of Devotion and attention he heard a Sermon.

From *Roan*, his Majesty accompanied with the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Lord *Digby*, Mr. *Oneen* took Post,

Poſt, ſteering their courſe directly for *Bayonne* (near which the two great Officers of ſtate were to meet) not ſtaying in any place, but endeavouring by all means poſſible to travel undiſcovered as was before reſolved.

Being come near to the end of his Journey, advice was ſent to *Don Lewis de Haro* of his Majeſties approach, who immediately (accompanied with a very gallant Train) came forth to meet him, and being come near unto him, *Don Lewis* alighted from his horſe, and notwithſtanding the place where they met was very dirty, kneeling down, he clapt his hands about his Majeſties Knees, and with a great deal of Humility kiſſed them.

His Majeſty was from hence conducted with becoming Ceremonies, to the place appointed for his accomodation (*Don Lewis* riding all the way

way bareheaded by him) where he was entertained with all poſſible ſplendor and gallantry.

Many overtures and propoſitions there paſſed, between his Majeſty and *Don Lewis de Haro* touching what aid and aſſiſtance might be granted him by his Catholick Majeſty, for the regaining of his rights and Kingdoms; his Majeſty endeavouring by all means poſſible, to promote and further the preſent Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, and to bring it to a happy concluſion, by the Marriage of the King of *France* to the *Spaniſh* Infanta, it tending ſo much to his Intereſt, that till the concluſion of it, nothing could be effected by thoſe Princes, which might any way promote his Right or poſſeſſion.

To all his deſires or propoſitions, the noble count *De Olivares* returned pleaſing anſwers, and carried himſelf

ſelf with ſo much reſpect towards him, that he could not have been more ſubmiſſive to the Catholick Majeſty of *Spain* his Maſter.

His Majeſty having ſome time been treated here, returned back again through *France*, being accompanied ſome part of his way by *Don Lewis*, and repaſſing the reſt privately by Poſt as he had formerly paſſed it, till he came to *Charinton* & *Paris*, where his Mother was, with whom he ſtaid ſome few dayes (though he was not now Courted and careſſed by the *French* Nobility as formerly(and then returned to his reſidence at *Bruſſels*.

His Majeſties private departure from *Bruſſels*, and his privacy during his whole journey, made it certainly believed, that both he and his Brother the Duke of *York*, who lay at *Calais*, were come over into *England*, and that they lay here concealed,

led, expecting according to the event of things, either to discover or secure themselves: nay so certain was the belief even those in power had of it, (who had not so good intelligence as *Oliver Cromwell*) that many persons were apprehended for them, and particularly one Mr. *Colt* was taken for the Duke of *York*, and kept in prison for him, till such time as certain news arrived in *England* of the Dukes return to *Brussels*. Several other persons likewise suffered imprisonment for being pressed to be like either his Majesty or his Brother.

His Majesty living retired at *Brussels*, the continuance of the differences in *England* among those who had usurped his power, doth still highly promote his interest. For though *Lambert* had routed Sir *George Booth*, and by it declared absolutely against a Free Parliament (for

(for which, as the undoubted right of the Nation, Sir *George Booth* and his Party took up Arms, yet the people could not be content, but now once put in the way, they began violently to hanker after their long loſt Liberty.

Nor could the turning out of the *Rump* (for ſo had the people out of Diſgrace termed the *Iunto* which then ſate) whom then inveterately hated, any whit now ſweeten them in their ſlavery, but they continually murmured out & agravated their oppreſſions one to another, and though they came to no violence, yet 'tis ſuſpected it was more out of the hope they had that Generall *George Monck*, (who was then marching with his Army out of *Scotland*) ſhould aſſert their Liberties, (which ſomewhat allayed the popular fury) then out of any fear or Cowardiſe.

But

But in the mean time their expections ſeem'd utterly to fail them, for the *Rump* had by their induſtry ſo inveigled moſt of the Army from *Lambert*, that by their help they return & take their ſeats in the Houſe and diſſolve his *Committee of Safety*, command the Soldiers of his Army to repair to their appointed Quarters, and Order Generall *Monck* to bring up his Army to *London*, in all which they are punctually obeyed; *Lambert's* Souldiers deſerting him, and Generall *Monck* according to their orders, marching up his Army quite through *England*.

Yet the Nation had ſo great hopes of the Noble General, that in all his paſſage through *England*, he is courted with addreſſes from the Gentry of every County, remonſtrating the diſtractions they long had, and were ſtill like to lye under, and inteating that they would be (as they hoped

hoped hee'd prove) the Deliverer and ſaver of his Countrey; that to ſettle them in ſome way of Government, a Parliament might be called by the free Votes of the people, that they might no longer be Governed by ſuch Wolves, as onely made a Prey of them, nor their Governours be ſubjected to the awe and force of an exorbitant Army. To all theſe deſires he returned anſwers, promiſing ſuch things as might be for the good of the Nation

But being come to *London* (where he was received with a great deal of joy) he put the people almoſt quite out of hopes of him, nay rather into a fear, that inſtead of proving their deliverer, he would be the means to enſlave them; for by the commandment of the *Rump*, he enters the City with his whole Army, impriſons many of their *Common Council*, digs up their Poſts, and breakes down their

their Gates, whilſt the ſtupifi'd Citizens, having now fear added to their ſlavery, durſt hardly murmur at, but with ſighs and nods bid *adieu* to their Liberty.

Yet notwithſtanding this violence, the Noble Generall revives their hopes, and retiring himſelf into the City, refuſing to be ſubject to the *Iunto's* command Shortly after he admits thoſe Members of the Houſe of *Commons* which were in 1648. forceably excluded by the Army, for having given their Votes that the Kings Conceſſions at the Iſle of *Wight* Treaty, were ſufficient grounds for a peace and ſettlement: who having taken their places in the Houſe, we had now got a ſtep towards our ancient happineſſe, one of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, *viz.* the Houſe of *Commons*, being permitted to ſit freely, a thing

not

not known ſo us in twelve precedent years: God of Heaven of his mercy to theſe Nations, grant, that the other two may in his due time admitted to the diſcharge of their power and truſt, that theſe Nations once ſo famous under that Government, may no longer continue to be the ſcorn and deriſion of foreign Countries.

And great hopes there is now that theſe Kingdomes may again return to be happy, ſince diſloyalty (the firſt cauſe of their miſeries and diſtractions) begins, bleſſed be God, every day to be depreſſed, and loyalty to flouriſh, many of thoſe who formerly with a zealous fury broak their oath of Allegiance to their King, wiſhing now that they had a King to ſhew allegiance to; & perceiving that all innovations of Government are not whatſome would have themſeem to be, *viz.* ways to liberty & freedom, but

but meer baits of ambitious self-minded men, to hook in the people to slavery.

But to return to his Majesty in *Flanders*; of whose itenary life we have already given you a particular account; it will not be impertinent to say somewhat of his sedentary and retired living, that by his œconomy we may judge of his Monarchy, and of the government of those few subjects in his Family, of that of his three Kingdoms.

His Majesty hath spent most of his time, wherein he hath been out of his Dominions, in *Flanders* under the protection of the Catholique King of *Spaine*; nor had he ever any where else so settled a Court and habitation, as here, where his chiefe attendants are the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earle of

Norwich, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Digby, and many others, Nobles and Gentlemen, whose loyalty to his sacred Majesty and his Royall Father hath made exiles to their Country; a particular number of which he makes use of for his Councell, doing nothing without serious and mature advice; and yet being of so sagacious a judgement that whatever he sayes is seldome contradicted by the most judicious of his Councellors, not out of feare or flattery, but out of a reall assent to, and concurrence with his judgement.

And indeed those great opportunities which he hath had, by his so long being abroad, of diving into the great Councels of Forrein Princes and States, must necessarily make him a person of a very perspicuous understanding, endow

dow him with all those qualities which may deservedly attain the name of Great, and render him as well an able Statist, as a King; he having during his expulsion travelled through, and lived in the Countries of three the most potent Princes in Christendome, *viz.* the Emperour's of *Germany*, and the Kings of *Spaine* and *France*; and so to the Germain resolution added the Spaniards prudence, and the Frenchmans expedition.

To these extraordinary helps which never a Prince in Christendome can boast of, we may yet adde, those more then ordinary gifts wherewith nature hath been pleased to endow him, which being so extreamly improved, we can hardly now discern; but that it may be known what they were, take the character of

an Honourable Lord upon his death bed, who ſpeaking of him when about fifteen or ſixteen yeers of age, hath theſe words: *Truly I never ſaw greater hopes of vertue in any young perſon then in him: Great judgement, great underſtanding, ſtrong apprehenſion, much of honour in his nature, and a very perfect Engliſhman in his inclinations.* So that both nature and induſtry have ſeemed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to make him a perfect Prince, his very affliction turning in this to his benefit, and making him in knowledge and ſufferings (the Refiner of knowledge) unparraleld. Some forreign Princes as well envying, as pittying his expulſion.

This perfect knowledge of his he hath indeed had but ſmall occaſion to practice, except a little in *Scotland*: where, I think, hee demon-

demonſtrated himſelfe a perſon ſo prudent and carefull in his affairs, that it is beyond my pens expreſſion.

His Subjects good was his only care; nor did he ever act any thing but what might tend more to theirs then his own intereſt; ſtill conſulting whether it might benefit them, not himſelf.

His Letter to Col. *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury* ſufficiently demonſtrates his affection to his very enemies; he would win, not conquer the hearts of thoſe who though they have broke their Allegiance to him, yet hee would eſteem ſtill his Subjects.

He would not conquer with blood, leſt he ſhould be thought a Tyrant. He endeavours by faire means to attain the love of his Subjects, that what ever his very

enemies think of him) he may approve himself to be a just Prince.

And did fortune give him power, yet would he rather attempt blandishments then force. He knows that whilst he kills a Subject he weakens his kingdom. Rebels themselves may be found usefull; and though justice can not, yet his Majesties clemency will admit their pardon; but if they resist to the utmost, their blood is on their own heads. *What man is not willing to destroy him who he knows would be his murderer.*

Thus is his justice and his clemency mixt together; he would not kill, where he might with safety save. Nor does his unspotted innocency raise fancies or fears in him. As he is guilty of nothing, so ther's nothing hee fears:

fears. Whilſt he endeavours to be true to his ſubjects, thoſe endeavours force a belief in him that his ſubjects will be true to him.

His very nature enclines him to a compaſſion. He pitties thoſe that will not pitty themſelves; and whilſt they are conſpiring his deſtruction, his prayers procure their ſafety. Nor can the utmoſt of their injuries provoke him to a retalliation. He hath learned not only of God, but of the King his father, to forgive his enemies.

Nor is it his deſire to obtain his Kingdomes that makes him willing to forgive his enemies, but his deſire to forgive his enemies that makes him willing to obtain his Kingdoms: he counts the poſſeſſion of his Royalties but as a tranſitory dignity; the pardon of his enemies a Divine and laſting one.

Neither is his piety leſſe then his juſtice, they are both in the ſuperlative degree, he hates wickedneſſe, not becauſe the world ſhould ſee him glory (that would make him an *Hypocrite*) but becauſe God abhors it; tis Love not Fear makes him Religious, he Fears God only becauſe he Loves him.

He hates not the Vicious, but abhominates their Vices, his hatred extends not to perſons, but to things; He diſlikes not the Swearer, tis his Oaths he abhors he hates not the Drunkard but his Drunkenneſſe.

Yet does his mercy extend beyond their ſins, as he is a King ſo he is a God, he is gracious to pardon, as well as juſt to puniſh; nor can a ſubmiſſion or reformation but overtake his remiſſion.

His conſtant ſervice of God excites

cites others to live by his example, he ſleeps not without invoking the bleſſing of the Almighty, nor do his eyes open without a returned thanks, He knows 'tis God alone which can reſtore and protect him: nor can the wickedneſſe of man prevail againſt Him.

Nor does his publick devotion ſhew him leſs zealous then his private, the one demonſtrates him full of Zeal, the other void of Hypocriſie; he would have others holy as well as himſelf; he knows that ſaying concerns him, being a King, above all private Men, *Non nobis ſolis nati ſumus.*

Private perſons are not alone born for thēſelves, muchleſs Kings, the publique concern is their duty: 'tis not enough for the Maſter of the houſe that he be godly, whilſt his Family is wicked. There

must be Precept as well as Example: and if need be, correction as well as instruction.

This makes his Majestie deservedly famous; he counts it as great a fault to suffer a sin in another whilst he hath power to correct it, as to commit it himself; he knows that what crimes soever a Magistrate suffers willingly to be committed, he brings upon his own head.

He is therefore above all things carefull not to father vice, lest he should be accounted vicious: he detests that in another which did he commit, he knows he might justly detest himself for: and endeavours by Example to reforme that in others which he knows were it in him would seem odious to them.

He abhors vice, as well because it is so, as because God abhors it.

His

His nature inclines him to vertue, and as he cannot admit its contrary in himselfe, so he cannot endure it in another.

His constancy in Religion is no lesse conspicuous then his piety. His discerning judgement knows what is truth, and that truth is followed by his setled will; Yet he hates not the Popish Religion, but their Idolatry; he abhors not them, but their false worship: He loves all that know *Christ* at all, but wishes that they might know him more.

His stedfastnesse in Religion proceeds not from self-interest; he sticks not so much to the true Protestants, because he knows the English to be addicted to that Religion; because hee thinks it for his benefit; because he imagines that it would prove very difficill to obtaine his Crown

and

and leave it. But, becauſe he knows it to be true.

He knows the Prince is born for the people, as well as the people for the Prince. He knows their intereſts to be interwoven. He knows that without them he cannot ſtand; yet will he ſooner looſe them then relinquiſh verity.

He is the perfect pattern of Piety but more of Patience, his afflictions have not made him repine, he knows God to be juſt: he believes that as God reſtored *Job* twofold, ſo will he likewiſe reſtore unto him his Kingdomes. Yet he thinks it juſt in God to ſuffer them to be detained from him.

He laments more his Subject ſlavery then his own Exile, he grives that they have been ſo long blind, yet rejoyces for their ſakes that they have now a Glimmering;

ring; he constantly prays for the restoring of their sight, not so much because they should restore his, as their own Rights and Priviledges.

He is inwardly troubled and perplexed at the many Schisms, Sects, and Heresies that are raised in the Church of *England*, he is sorry that their rise is from some mens envy towards him; he pities, and his pitty produces his prayers for them. He is willing that though they will not obey him, yet that they may serve God.

He was never heard to curse his Enemies, many times to pray for them, and desire God to forgive even his Fathers Murtherers; his good will surpasses their cruelty: And whilst they are conspiring his Destruction, he is praying for their Salvation.

He is a perfect Enemy to all De-

Debauchedneſs, he is ſorry thoſe who pretend themſelves his friends in *England* are ſo great a ſcandal to him: He wiſhes that they would ſo carry themſelves, that he might adventure to own them as his Friends; for he underſtands not the good will of thoſe who drink his Health for the liquors ſake, nor wiſhes for their help who over their Sack only ſwear they will Fight for Him.

He is no greater a hater of vice then a Cheriſher of vertuous Actions, he loves them in his very Enemies, and often grives when he finds occaſion to think that many of them will riſe up in Judgment againſt his moſt pretended Friends.

He is moſt exactly juſt in all his Commands, and faithful in performance of all his Promiſes.

Take

Take the Character given him by the dying Marqueſſe of *Montroſe* *For his Majeſty now Living* (ſaith he) *Never People I believe may be more happy in a King, his commands to me were moſt juſt, in nothing that he promiſeth will he fail: He deals juſtly with all Men*, &c. So punctual is he, that when a word is once gone out of his Mouth he will rather ſuffer by it then break it.

To conclude, he is the pattern of Patience and Piety, the moſt Righteous and Juſteſt of Kings. The moſt knowing and experienced of Princes. The Holieſt and the beſt of Men. The ſevereſt puniſher of Vice. The ſtricteſt rewarder of Virtue. The conſtanteſt perſeverer in Religion. And the trueſt lover of his Subjects.

This a ſhort Character of his illuſtrious Majeſty, which I fear thoſe

thoſe that know him will rather think to come ſhort of then reach his due praiſe, ſo ſweetly vertuous is he in all his Carriages, ſo affable in his diſcourſe, ſo void of paſſion and anger, that he was never yet heard or ſeen in Chollor, the utmoſt extent of any paſſion that ever was diſcerned in him, being towards one of his Menial Servants, who juſtifying himſelf in what he had done amiſs, his Majeſty with ſome motion told him that he was an inſolent Fellow.

Yet this is that Prince whoſe vertues we have given leave to Forraign Nations to admire, whilſt we our ſelves have reſted as well ignorant of his deſerts, as deſtitute of our own Liberty whilſt either infatuated or blinded by thoſe who have Tyrannically uſurped governments over us

us, we have been contented to ſit ſtill and ſee him expulſed and exiled from his due Rights and Royalties, and our ſelves from our Freedome and Priviledges.

Nor hath God alone been merciful to us in endowing his ſacred Majeſty with ſuch Heroick virtues, but he hath given us a ſtock of noble Princes, who ſeeme to emulate Virtue in one another, and grow up like Royal Oaks to maintain the Honour and Glory of this Nation, but are yet and have a long time been the diſgrace of it, all the Nations in *Europe* laughing at the *Engliſh* folly, who ſlight that happineſſe which they might enjoy.

As for the illuſtrious Duke of *York* his Fame is ſpread ſo farr over the World, that my ſelf have heard the very *Turks* commend and applaude his Vallour which

was

was ſo eſteemed of among the *French*, that before he arrived at twenty one years of Age he was by that King thought worthy the command of Liev. General of his Army's, which he managed with ſuch care and prudence that ſeldome any affair he took in hand, produced not its deſired ſucceſs; and ſince, his being in requital of his ſervices, complemented out of that Kingdome of *France*, though he hath not had ſuch eminent commands conferr'd on him by the *Spaniard*, yet have they alwaies thought him worth the Higheſt imployment and reſpect.

As for the Duke of *Glouceſter*, he is eſteemed by moſt to be fitter for a Counſellour then a ſouldier. His Carriage is grave, and ſomewhat ſevere; of a ſagace Genious and underſtanding, & very much prying

prying into State Affairs, which have made most judge him the fitter for a Council board.

These three Princes, are like three *Diamonds* or *Pearls* which we have ignorantly cast away, & not come to know the worth of them till we come to want them, Their vertues having made them resplendent throughout all the World, and rendred them, if we justly consider it, the only means whereby we can attain to happinesse; for what Nation can be more blessed then that which hath for her Prince a *just* King to Govern, a Valiant Duke to Defend, and a Wise Counsellour to Advise.

May the God of Heaven then open our Eyes and let us at length see our Errour, and heartily repent of it, by calling

calling our Native Soveraign to the possession of his due Rights, Which the Divine Majesty (I hope) will be Graciously pleased to grant.

FINIS.

On his Majeſties Picture. Anno 1659.

BOth Good *and* Juſt: *though forc'd by Tyrants powers.*
Hard Fate denies thee to be Great: *or ours.*
Illuſtrious CHARLES, *more loſs to us then we*
Three wretched Nations can be gain to thee.
Yet Thou'lt reigne; ſince, though Traitors force denies,
Angels will bring the Scepters from the skies.

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